

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE VIEWS OF DISRUPTIVE  
STUDENTS IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES

PHILIP GARNER

PhD

LONDON UNIVERSITY, INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION



## **ABSTRACT**

The thesis investigates the views of disruptive students in two schools in England and the United States. In both countries considerable recent attention has been given to such groups of students. They have been seen as an oppositional group and much media attention has been directed towards them as a possible threat to good order in schools and society. Little attention has been given to the views of the students themselves.

The conceptual and practical problems for a comparative study of the phenomenon are firstly outlined. These relate to context (time and space), to definition, to cause and the lack of acknowledgement of the views of disruptive students within school systems,

A theoretical framework is then constructed, based upon the concept of the ecosystem, as defined by Bronfenbrenner.

Twelve students, termed disruptive by teachers in the two schools, are identified. Data is obtained, using qualitative methodology, concerning students' views on four aspects of school-life : the curriculum, their teachers, disruptive behaviour and school organisation.

Data is analysed in two ways : by considering the 'ecosystemic experience' of the student and then by outlining a 'continuum of responses'. The first approach illustrated that disruptive students in both schools suggested that interactions within the 'microsystem' and the 'mesosystem' inform their views about school. The second suggests that the views of the students concerning school were sometimes similar to those of their teachers, and they are frequently expressed in positive terms.

The study then outlines three issues which may be important in arguing for more advocacy for disruptive students : the discrepancies between micro- and macro-theorising, the gap between the rhetoric of school organisation and the experiences of the students, and the non-oppositional stance frequently adopted by the students. Each indicates some potential for including disruptive students' views in aspects of school organisation.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

| PAGE  |  |
|-------|--|
| 2     | ABSTRACT   |
| 3 - 8 | TABLE OF CONTENTS  |
| 9     | LIST OF TABLES   |
| 10    | LIST OF FIGURES  |
| 11    | ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS   |
| 12    | <b>INTRODUCTION</b>  |
|       | (i) Preface.   |
|       | (ii) Plan.   |
| 19    | Notes.   |
| 21    | <b>CHAPTER ONE : COMPARATIVE APPROACHES IN<br/>SPECIAL EDUCATION</b> |
|       | Introduction.  |
|       | (i) Review of Existing Literature                                    |
|       | (ii) Disruptive Students in Comparative Education                    |
|       | Conclusion.  |
| 26    | Notes.   |
| 30    | <b>CHAPTER TWO : ESTABLISHING A CONTEMPORARY<br/>CONTEXT</b>         |
|       | Introduction.  |

|    |       |  |
|----|-------|--|
|    | (i)   | The Historical Overview.   |
|    | (ii)  | Research on Disruptive Students in England and the United States (1970-1990).    |
|    | (iii) | The Broader Contemporary Context.  |
|    | (iv)  | Educational Discourses for Disruptive Students in England and the United States. |
|    |       | (a) Theorising Disability in England and USA.                                    |
|    |       | (b) Disruptive Students Within Special Education Systems.                        |
|    |       | (c) Disruptive Students : Advocacy and Self Advocacy.                            |
|    |       | Conclusion.  |
| 47 |       | Notes.   |
| 54 |       | <b>CHAPTER THREE : DEVELOPING AN URBAN FOCUS</b>                                 |
|    |       | Introduction.  |
|    | (i)   | Historical Evidence from the Literature.   |
|    | (ii)  | Recent Evidence from England and the United States.                              |
|    | (iii) | National Responses to Disruptive Students in Urban Schools.                      |
|    |       | Conclusion.  |
| 64 |       | Notes.   |
| 68 |       | <b>CHAPTER FOUR : AN ECOSYSTEMIC VIEW OF CAUSALITY</b>                           |
|    |       | Introduction.  |
|    | (i)   | Theorising a Causal Ecology for Disruptive Students.                             |
|    | (ii)  | Disruptive Students in England and USA : An Ecology of Causes.                   |
|    |       | (a) Microsystemic Causes.  |
|    |       | (b) Mesosystemic Causes.   |
|    |       | (c) Exosystemic Causes.  |
|    |       | (d) Macrosystemic Causes.  |
|    | (iii) | Micro versus Macro Investigation.  |
|    |       | Conclusion.  |
| 81 |       | Notes  |



|     |  |
|-----|--|
| 86  | <b>CHAPTER FIVE : DISTURBED, MALADJUSTED<br/>OR DISRUPTIVE ? A SCENARIO FOR CONFUSION</b>              |
|     | Introduction.  |
|     | (i) A Scenario for Confusion.  |
|     | (ii) Traditions of Definition : Recent History.  |
|     | (iii) Comparative Conflicts of Definition.   |
|     | (iv) National Legislation : Continued Confusion.   |
|     | (v) The Role of Ecosystemic Theory in Definition.  |
|     | Conclusion.  |
| 103 | Notes.   |
| 110 | <b>CHAPTER SIX : THE INDIVIDUAL REALITY OF THE<br/>DISRUPTIVE STUDENT</b>                              |
|     | Introduction.  |
|     | (i) An Historical Overview.  |
|     | (ii) The Response of Teachers.   |
|     | (iii) School Effect.   |
|     | (iv) The Views of Disruptive Students.   |
|     | (v) Disruptive Student Reality : A Definition and Stance.  |
|     | Conclusion.  |
| 128 | Notes.   |
| 134 | <b>CHAPTER SEVEN : RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</b>  |
|     | Introduction.  |
|     | (i) Qualitative Case Study in Comparative Education.   |
|     | (ii) Developing a Research Style to Investigate the Views<br>of Disruptive Students.                   |
|     | (a) Macrosystemic and Exosystemic Levels : Contextual Issues.  |
|     | (b) The Mesosystemic Level.  |
|     | (c) The Microsystemic Level : Disruptive Students<br>and those who work with them.                     |
|     | (iii) A Note Concerning Research ethics in Qualitative Case Study<br>Enquiry with Disruptive Students. |
|     | (iv) Synthesis : The Ecological Research Instrument.   |
|     | Conclusion.  |

154

Notes.

159

## **CHAPTER EIGHT : THE RESEARCH**

Introduction.

- (i) The Research Plan.
  - (ii) The Pilot Study.
  - (iii) The Research Data.
    - (a) Selection of Case Study Sites.
    - (b)i. The Macrosystemic and Exosystemic Context : England.
    - (b)ii. The Macrosystemic and Exosystemic Context : United States.
    - (c)i. Ribbleside High School : a Mesosystemic Outline.
    - (c)ii. Clearwater Valley High School : a Mesosystemic Outline.
    - (d) The Microsystem : The Views of Disruptive Students at Ribbleside High School and Clearwater Valley High School.
    - (e) Individual Case Studies of Disruptive Students
- Conclusion.

191

Notes.

192

## **CHAPTER NINE : ANALYSIS OF DATA**

Introduction.

- (i) An Ecology and Continuum of Responses : Theoretical Underpinnings and the Analytical Framework.
  - (ii) Analysis I : The Ecology of Responses (Ribbleside High School and Clearwater Valley High School).
    - (a) Disruptive Students' Statements about the Curriculum.
    - (b) Disruptive Students' Statements concerning Personal and Professional Qualities of Teachers.
    - (c) Disruptive Students' Statements concerning their own behaviour.
    - (d) Disruptive Students' Statements concerning School Organisation and Ethos.
  - (iii) Analysis II : A Continuum of Responses.
  - (iv) The Multi-Dimensional Framework of Student Reality.
- Conclusion.

248

Notes.

|     |  |
|-----|--|
| 251 | <b>CHAPTER TEN : DISCUSSION</b>                                    |
|     | Introduction.  |
|     | (i) Macro versus Micro Interpretations.                            |
|     | (ii) Rhetoric versus Reality.                                      |
|     | (iii) Using the Views of Disruptive Students in Schools.           |
|     | Conclusion.  |
| 277 | Notes.   |
| 284 | <b>CHAPTER ELEVEN : CONCLUSION</b>                                 |
| 286 | <b>APPENDICES</b>  |
|     | A : Contextual Events (National and Regional)                      |
| 286 | (i) England  |
| 287 | (ii) USA.  |
|     | B : Data on Ribbleside High School (England).                      |
| 288 | (i) School Organisation and Systems of Communication.              |
| 289 | (ii) List of Teaching Staff.                                       |
| 290 | (iii) School Aims.   |
| 291 | (iv) Code of Conduct.  |
| 294 | (v) Policy Statement for On-Site Unit.                             |
|     | C : Data on Clearwater Valley High School (USA).                   |
| 298 | (i) School Organisation and Systems of Communication.              |
| 299 | (ii) List of Teaching Staff,                                       |
| 300 | (iii) School Aims.   |
| 301 | (iv) Student Responsibility Code.                                  |
| 302 | (v) Student Contract.  |
| 303 | (vi) Resource Room Arrangements.                                   |
| 305 | D : Disruptive Students Identified by Teaching Staff at RHS & CVHS |
|     | (i) List of Disruptive Students (RHS).                             |
|     | (ii) List of Disruptive Students (CVHS).                           |
| 307 | E : Semi-structured Interview Schedule.                            |
| 309 | F : Disruptive Student Statements                                  |
|     | (i) Statements from Disruptive Students (RHS).                     |
|     | (ii) Statements from Disruptive Students (CVHS).                   |
| 360 | G : Individual Case-Studies of Disruptive Students.                |

|     |   |
|-----|---|
|     | (i) Ribbleside High School                            |
|     | (ii) Clearwater Valley High School                    |
| 377 | H : Statements of Teachers of the Disruptive Students |
|     | (i) Comments from Teachers (RHS).                     |
|     | (ii) Comments from Teachers (CVHS).                   |
| 388 | J : Miscellaneous Documents.                          |
| 391 | <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.</b>                                  |

## LIST OF TABLES

| PAGE |  |
|------|--|
| 227  | Table A : Summary of Disruptive Students' Statements in each of the four aspects of school experience.       |
| 228  | Table B : Summary of Disruptive Students' Statements (Curriculum).   |
| 229  | Table B (i) : Disruptive Students' Microsystemic Statements (Curriculum).                                    |
| 230  | Table B (ii) : Disruptive Students' Mesosystemic Statements (Curriculum).                                    |
| 231  | Table C : Summary of Disruptive Students' Statements (Personal & Professional Qualities of Teachers).        |
| 232  | Table C (i) : Disruptive Students' Microsystemic Statements (Personal & Professional Qualities of Teachers). |
| 233  | Table D : Summary of Disruptive Students' Statements (Interpretations of Disruptive Behaviour).              |
| 234  | Table D (i) : Summary of causes given by Disruptive Students for their 'disruptive' behaviour in school.     |
| 235  | Table E : Summary of Disruptive Students' Statements (School Organisation and Ethos).                        |
| 236  | Table F : Positive - Negative Statements of Disruptive Students : A Summary.                                 |
| 237  | Table G : Teachers' Comments concerning their own Personal & Professional Qualities.                         |

## LIST OF FIGURES

| PAGE | FIGURE  |
|------|---|
| 70   | (i) Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Environment.  |
| 72   | (ii) The Ecology of Disruptive Students.  |
| 164  | (iii) List of Critical Events (Disruptive Students at the Pilot Study School).      |
| 238  | (iv) Criteria for Determining Categories of Disruptive Student Statement.           |
| 239  | (v) Explanation of Positive-Negative Continuum.                                     |
| 240  | (vi) Positive Teacher-Characteristics indicated in Disruptive Student Statements.   |
| 241  | (vii) Illustrative Statements from Disruptive Students concerning Their Behaviours. |
| 242  | (viii) Disruptive Students' Statements validating Dalin's Model                     |
| 243  | (ix) Dalin's Model and its Ecosystemic Adaptation.                                  |
| 244  | (x) Disruptive Student Statements illustrating Positive-Negative Continuum.         |
| 245  | (xi) Model of Horizontal-Vertical Reality.  |
| 246  | (xii) Indicative Examples of Teachers' Comments                                     |
| 247  | (xiii) Summary of Disruptive Student Case-Studies.                                  |
| 254  | (xiv) Adapted Model illustrating Flexible Reality of Disruptive Students.           |

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

A number of people have helped me during the course of this study, and I would like to thank them. The late John Raynor supervised the initial year of the thesis : his encouragement and guidance was of great value. Crispin Jones, my supervisor, has been a consistent source of critical support and has helped sustain the study during those periods when I have struggled for direction.

At the West London Institute, the Library staff have been unstinting in offering assistance with searches, and in obtaining papers from other sources. The Staff Development Officer, Chris Oprey, has enabled me to spend periods of time away from my teaching duties so that the fieldwork could be undertaken. Several of my colleagues have been helpful as discussants at various stages of the study. In particular, Sarah Sandow, Reader in Education, has been a source of continued advice throughout my period of study. Jamie Davidson, the Education Department Administrator, has assisted in the presentation of the final thesis.

In the United States, friends and colleagues in the Pacific Northwest have helped ease me into a North American frame of reference : Mark and Della Harwood, Art Rocco and his family, and especially Gary Berg and Russell have all contributed to my efforts to obtain the requisite data in the United States.

The staff and particularly the disruptive students at the two research locations and at the pilot-study school have been interested in, and supportive of, my endeavours. The same applies to the Local Authority and School Board officers in both locations. Though all have to remain anonymous, this does not diminish the importance of their contribution.

Finally I would like to acknowledge the forbearance of my family. In this respect my partner, Ann Hughes, has been a constant support throughout this endeavour : the study would not have been completed without her help.

# INTRODUCTION

## (i) Preface

Disruptive behaviour has become firmly established in the folklore of late-twentieth century education systems in England and the United States (1). Concerns over issues relating to control and discipline have remained a recurrent theme in the two countries, discussed in great detail by schoolteachers, administrators, parents and politicians (2).

In consequence, a correspondingly large body of research has developed in England and the USA, particularly during the period 1970 to 1990, which has reflected a preoccupation with a single, non-normative category : the so-called disruptive student in secondary schools in England and the United States (3). Although terminological differences exist, it is accurate to suggest that both countries have now a tradition of work directed towards resolving the problems posed by this group of school-students (4).

It is tempting to make simplistic interpretations of the cause of this concern. Many commentators have drawn parallels between the social, economic and political landscape of the late-twentieth century and that which existed in mid-nineteenth century England and North America, which was also a period of societal concern regarding disruption in schools (5). There has, nevertheless, developed a view that the crisis in discipline, which is believed to exist in schools at the present time, is something special to the 1970's and 1980's (6).

From the outset it is important to recognise that both the descriptor 'disruptive', and the interpretations that have been ascribed to it, are clouded with subjective analyses. Its definitions appear to depend upon the experiences of the person describing it, upon spatial and locational factors, and upon the current ideologies of schooling which are dominant at the time (7).

This study is an attempt to approach the conceptual and practical issues that such subjectivity raises from the disruptive students' perspective. There has been a concentration of research concerning disruptive students in the schools of both England and the United States on definitions (8), on systems and strategies to deal with the problem thus defined (9), and upon the place of such students within the social structure of the whole school (10), within particular teaching-spaces (11), and within society in general (12). What has been apparent is that student responses to the position that they find themselves in - usually



marginalised within, or segregated from, the mainstream school - have formed a relatively brief contribution to the investigation of the phenomenon (13).

A number of possible explanations exist for the lack of inclusion of the views of disruptive students. Whilst these will be examined in detail in Chapter Six of this study, they can be briefly summarised as follows. The education systems of both countries have traditionally operated as a means of ensuring a compliant and amenable state resource (14). Where groups or individuals are seen to threaten this process a frequent historical response has been to adopt punitive measures based upon control (15). One aspect of this is disenfranchisement : traditionally education systems have refused to acknowledge, either implicitly or explicitly, the views of problem students. This is in spite of increasing evidence to suggest that such students may be of assistance in successfully developing school strategies to deal with discipline problems (16).

From a methodological viewpoint, too, the use of the views of disruptive students has been regarded as problematic (17). This in part may have been because of the pre-eminence of quantitative method in educational research (18). The views of disruptive students, which have been frequently suggested to be oppositional to the goals of the educational community, were not regarded as valid data until relatively recently, when ethnographic techniques in educational research enabled their importance to be recognised (19).

The focus of this study is an attempt to gather the views of disruptive students. The views of two groups of individual students, referred to as disruptive by their teachers, in one English secondary school and one North American secondary school, will be obtained. These will focus upon four aspects of their school experiences, outlined below.

These responses will be conceptualised as a 'student reality' within an 'ecosystem' (20). The research will attempt to explore, using a comparative case-study methodology, a range of disruptive student explanations for the school behaviours which they engage in (21). These will be obtained by examining their views, obtained in semi-structured conversations, concerning four aspects of their school experiences : the curriculum and its delivery, the personal and professional characteristics of teachers, the students' own interpretations of their disruptive behaviours, and the organisation and ethos of their school. The opinions of the disruptive students will subsequently be discussed in relation to existing theoretical viewpoints and to the interpretations that are made of such experiences by the students' teachers and administrators. The 'official wisdom' or rhetoric of particular institutions, as represented by local and national legislation and school processes in England and the United States will also be considered in this respect.

In this way it is hoped that the study will illustrate a number of parallels and discontinuities which exist in the educational experience of disruptive students in England and the United States. It will also endeavour to support a view that, in both countries, there remains a considerable gap between what the students themselves believe is happening to them in school and the official views of educational administrators and teachers.

The study will endeavour to examine the extent to which the students who are termed disruptive in England present similar interpretations of their individual realities to the disruptive students in the United States. It will question whether differences in provision, developed partly as a result of political, cultural, social, economic and ideological factors specific to each country (22), mean that the school experiences of disruptive students in each country are dissimilar.

Finally, the research will, in the light of the responses gathered from the two groups of students in the case-study sites, attempt a comparative discourse based upon advocacy for disruptive students, in order to establish a number of structural and ideological parallels and discontinuities between England and the United States. Using these as starting points, it will be argued, it may then be possible to develop more meaningful school strategies for such students.

## **(ii) Plan**

The first seven Chapters of this thesis contain a number of extended discussions, which outline both the theoretical argument and its supporting literature. Whilst individual rationales for each of the issues raised are provided in each Chapter, it is necessary at this point to emphasise the importance of this developmental approach within the overall study. Disruptive students, it is argued, have to be seen in context : this includes a consideration of spatial, temporal, social, political and personal factors. Moreover, in developing a suitable methodology for use in a comparative study, these initial Chapters provide a framework within which the research instruments, and the subsequent analysis of data, can be located.

The study will begin with a brief overview of the role of comparative analysis in special education in Chapter One. This is provided in order to illustrate the absence of a substantial body of comparative literature in a number of areas crucial to the study. There is, for example, very little comparative literature concerning special education systems in England and the United States. This overview will also indicate that there is a shortage of studies

exploring issues connected with non-ascertained (ie. non-formal) special education, to which students who are termed disruptive have been frequently ascribed (23). Finally, this section will attempt to demonstrate that the research strategies to be used in this study, which comprise case study methodology and qualitative analysis, have been largely absent from the literature in comparative education. As a result there has been a tendency, until recently, for an emphasis to be placed upon macro studies. The criticism has been that these tend not to be sensitive to the views of individual social agents (24). Chapter Seven of the thesis provides an extended discussion of these issues.

Chapter Two will deal with the task of establishing a context for researching the reality of the disruptive student. This will be achieved in three parts. Firstly the Chapter will provide an overview of some aspects of the historical continuities of the phenomenon in England and the United States. In part two it will present an overview of the period 1970 to 1990, in order that some recent social, economic, political and educational parallels might be established between England and the United States within that period. From this, the Chapter will finally outline the contemporary discourse for disruptive students : this will attempt to demonstrate the often marginal position of such students within schools and whole education systems in both England and the United States.

Chapter Three will narrow the focus by relating the foregoing contextual discussion to the location of the disruptive student in the urban school. This will be achieved by briefly reviewing some of the existing literature and research evidence which might suggest an urban concentration of the phenomenon of the disruptive student in schools in England and the United States. Here the Chapter will note a number of historical examples of school disruption in urban areas, thereby illustrating the traditional locational setting for the broad contexts of disruptive behaviour, which have been sketched in Chapter Two. The arguments for the mainly urban location of disruptive students in schools will subsequently be used as a rationale for the selection of the two case-study sites.

In Chapter Four reference will be made to a wide range of possible explanations for the existence of disruptive students in schools. A review of causality will therefore provide the substance of this Chapter. This will attempt to show that an ecology of causes may be instrumental in creating a disruptive student. Moreover, it will suggest that, within this ecosystem, microsystemic and mesosystemic causes, which relate to a students interactions within a school, may offer a focus of inquiry which might be a useful method of comparative investigation, based upon qualitative case study. This, in turn, will allow the thesis to present an argument for an ecosystemic definition. This will be provided in the following Chapter.

Chapter Five will comprise an analysis of the definitional problems that arise in using the term 'disruptive' in the context of school students. The chapter will suggest that the subjectivity of the term which refers to groups of school students as disruptive creates a number of problems for the researcher. At the same time, however, such difficulties can be instrumental in helping to establish a so-called ecosystemic definition of the phenomenon (25). This will provide the focus for the second part of the Chapter, which will theorise and demonstrate the potential of the ecological approach, based upon the ecosystem (26), in a study which compares the views of disruptive students in two schools in similar urban settings in England and the United States.

The ecosystemic approach to the study of the reality of disruptive students in urban settings will be formulated in Chapter Six. The Chapter will, firstly, provide an overview of existing literature from England and the United States concerning the views of disruptive students. This will support the suggestion that the opinions of such students have provided only a small contribution to the research literature, whilst they may be of substantial importance in understanding the phenomenon.

Secondly, Chapter Six will examine three elements drawn from the ecosystemic model which might shape such expressions of student reality. Thus the response of teachers and the nature of 'school effect' will both be discussed (27). But the substantive focus of this part of the Chapter will be a consideration of the status of the views of disruptive students concerning their schooling, so that the potential for the role of disruptive students as active agents in their own education can be acknowledged (28). This will be achieved by firstly providing indications from the literature of the extent to which such views have been researched in England and the United States. The Chapter will then discuss, in some detail, the nature of individual reality as it has been theorised by Bronfenbrenner (29). The use of Bronfenbrenner's work enables the central role of the school-student within an educational ecosystem to be adequately theorised. Finally, the Chapter will conclude with a definition and theoretical stance, so that a number of qualitative research instruments, which are regarded as central to this style of inquiry, may be explored in the following Chapter.

The research methodology used at both case-study sites will be discussed in Chapter Seven. The nature of qualitative case study in comparative education will be examined in order to validate this approach. From this critique, a set of research instruments, suitable for use in an ethnographic study of the reality of disruptive students, will be outlined. Such instruments, it will be argued, may be adapted to enable the ecosystem of the disruptive student, as defined by Bronfenbrenner (30) and theorised in Chapter Six, to be explored.

Chapter Eight will comprise the research data. The research will examine evidence drawn from the whole ecosystem, but substantially this will comprise a set of statements, taken from conversations with students who teachers regard as disruptive, at two case-study sites in England and the United States. Statements from disruptive students will be grouped into four areas, based upon a categorisation of student statements in a pilot study, conducted in one English secondary school. These are :

- (i) The curriculum and its delivery.
- (ii) Personal and professional characteristics of teachers.
- (iii) The students' own interpretations of their disruptive behaviour.
- (iv) Organisation and ethos of the school.

Additional data will also be presented from other parts of the ecosystem of each case-study site. This will include a series of individual student case-studies, which will provide a number of illustrative individual contexts from England and the United States. Additionally, the views of the teachers and administrators who work most closely with the students will be considered. This provides one way in which the gaps which exist between the students' perceptions of school and those of significant adult authority figures can be illustrated. Further information concerning the organisational and structural details of the two selected schools will be provided, in supporting appendices, to give additional background to the study.

The statements of individual students will be analysed in Chapter Nine. The analysis will deal with a number of questions which previous Chapters have highlighted. The focus will be a comparison of student 'reality' in relation to the four aspects of their schooling chosen for this study in the two case-study sites. An analysis of the possible differences between the views of the students and those of teachers and administrators, and the possible causes of these, will then be made. The intention will be to indicate differences, and points of congruence, between the rhetoric and practices of the two schools in the study and the individual reality of the disruptive students within them.

Chapter Ten will attempt to reassemble the theoretical implications of the data, and will consider these in the light of three themes suggested by the statements made by the disruptive students. It will, firstly, discuss the difficulties presented in comparative case-study research in attempting to relate micro-research to a broader set of societal or macro influences. Secondly, the discussion will suggest that the rhetoric of school organisation is often contradictory to the experiences of the disruptive students, and that there is some overlap in the views of both disruptive students and their teachers concerning the four aspects of their schooling. Thirdly, the Chapter will indicate the usefulness of including the views of disruptive students in some aspects of school organisation. In particular, it will

argue that the opinions of such students can be incorporated more effectively than hitherto into the educational procedures and practices of schools in both England and the United States.

Chapter Eleven will provide a synopsis of the main findings of the study, with particular emphasis upon the cross-cultural similarities and differences highlighted by the data. It will also indicate the potential for future comparative research concerning disruptive students, as indicated in this study.

## NOTES : INTRODUCTION

- (1) The history of education systems of both England and USA has provided numerous examples of media hysteria and lay concern about supposed increases of disruption in schools. As Frude & Gault (1984) have commented, 'The topic has become a public issue, and there is widespread belief, shaped largely by media coverage of particular outstanding incidents, that schools today are places in which chaos and aggression are increasingly encountered'. See Frude, N. & Gault, H. (1984). Disruptive Behaviour in Schools. Chichester; Wiley, p.7. A similar view is proposed by Everhart in the US : 'Media exposure of such issues as physical attacks on teachers and the use of drugs in school might suggest that most public concern about school discipline amounts to concern about these sensationalized incidents'. See Everhart, R. (1987). 'Understanding Student Disruption and Classroom Control'. Harvard Educational Review, 57 (1), 77-83.
- (2) Reference will be made to these in Chapters 1-5
- (3) As the discussion of terminology will propose, the use of the term disruptive student is not intended to be perjorative but, rather, its use is intended to reflect the 'within-student' explanation and adoption of this term as descriptive of individual students. Both interpretations have been criticised (for example by Tattum (1985) in England, and by Apter (1982) in the USA. See Tattum, D. (1985). 'Disruptive Pupil Behaviour : A Sociological Perspective'. Maladjustment and Therapeutic Education, 3 (2), 12-18; Apter, S. (1982). Troubled Children, Troubled Systems. New York; Pergamon.
- (4) This may be illustrated by the frequency with which the issue is discussed in educational journals (rather than the more specific special education publications)
- (5) Adams, R. (1991). Protests by Pupils. Basingstoke; Falmer
- (6) This view is supported by the high profile media focus on discipline in schools in both England and the United States; little reference is made in such accounts to the historical precedents of the phenomenon. One example of this style of media reporting is 'Children 'out of control' in Brent', The Times, Wednesday, January 28, 1987.
- (7) This is discussed further in Chapter Four, where it will be argued that a locational definition is possible means of exploring the issue from a comparative perspective.
- (8) Houghton et.al. (England) and Safran & Safran (USA) are examples of the continued search for definitions. Both sets of authors used teachers' perceptions of what constituted problematic behaviour. See Houghton, S., Wheldall, K. & Merrett, F. (1988). 'Classroom Behaviour Problems which Secondary School Teachers say they find most Troublesome'. British Educational Research Journal, 14 (3), 297-310. and Safran, S. & Safran, J. (1985). 'Classroom Context and Teachers' Perceptions of Problem Behaviors'. Journal of Educational Psychology, 77 (1), 20-28.
- (9) See for example Bailey, T. & Dinham, H. (1987). 'Establishing an on-site unit for secondary pupils who are considered to be disruptive in schools'. Support for Learning, 2 (1), 41-47; and Chobot, R. & Garibaldi, A. (1982). 'In-School Alternatives to Suspension : A Description of Ten School District Programs'. The Urban Review, 14, 317-337. The two examples cited refer to England and the USA respectively
- (10) Pollard provides one account of an English school's processes in Pollard, A. (1981). 'Coping with deviance; school processes and their implications for social reproduction'. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield. In the USA a similar theme is pursued by Everhart, R. (1983). Reading, Writing and Resistance : Adolescence and Labor in a Junior High School. New York; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (11) For an English example see Clarke, D., Parry-Jones, W., Gay, B. & Smith, C. (1981). 'Disruptive Incidents in Secondary School Classrooms : A Sequence Analysis Approach'. Oxford Review of Education, 7, 111- 117.  
In the USA, Lasley, T. (1978). 'Perceived Student Misbehavior within the Context of Classroom Interactions : A Participant Observation Study'. Unpublished PhD. thesis, Ohio State University, provides a similar micro-organisational enquiry.
- (12) This point will be argued in Chapter Six.
- (13) Relative to special education provision, this interpretation is provided by, amongst others, Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (1981). Special Education : Policy, Practice and Social

- Issues. London; Harper & Row. The authors state that 'The rhetoric of 'needs' is humanitarian, the practice is control and vested interests' (p.24). On a more general level, the work of Bowles & Gintis is, of course, central to theorising this process. See Bowles, S. & Gintis, H. (1976). Schooling in Capitalist America. New York; Basic Books.
- (14) In England, for example, the establishment of off-site units for students who were identified as disruptive may be seen as one example of control through an ideology, often implicit, of punishment. See Whitty, G. (1984). 'Special units in a changing climate: agencies of change or control?' in Lloyd-Smith, M. (Ed.) Disrupted Schooling. London; John Murray.
- (15) Stevenson, D. (1991) 'Deviant Students as a Collective Resource in Classroom Control'. Sociology of Education, 64, April. 127-133. (16) This is discussed in Chapter 7, iii.
- (17) This predominance is illustrated by Goswami, D. & Stillman, P. (Eds.) (1987). Reclaiming the classroom : teacher research as an agency for change. Upper Montclair; Boynton/Cook.
- (18) See Chapter Seven.
- (19) As proposed by Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). The Ecology of Human Development. Cambridge; Harvard University Press.
- (20) The rationales will be based on the premise of 'individual reality' as it is articulated by disruptive students.
- (21) Whilst retaining the 'individual' in the reality, so that Rogers's statement that 'We carry the burden ourselves of discovering our identity' (p.34) is retained as the central argument. See Rogers, C. (1983). Freedom to Learn. Columbus; Merrill.
- (22) Thus being effectively excluded from (possibly) protective special education legislation in each country.
- (23) As outlined by Shilling, C. (1992). 'Reconceptualising Structure and Agency in the Sociology of Education : structuration theory and schooling'. British Journal of Sociology of Education, 13 (1), 69-87.
- (24) Which retains the individual as the focus of reality. Introductory aspects of this approach are discussed by Upton, G. & Cooper, P. (1990). 'A New Perspective on Behaviour Problems in Schools : The Ecosystemic Approach'. Maladjustment and Therapeutic Education, 8 (1) 3-18.
- (25) Both in developing theoretical paradigms and in methodological terms.
- (26) Bronfenbrenner (op.cit.) p.22.
- (27) The literature on school effect, and its possible relationship to alienation from school, has increased considerably in the period from 1970 onwards, in both England and the US.
- (28) Shilling (op.cit.) pp.71-2.
- (29) Bronfenbrenner (op.cit.) p.17.
- (30) Ibid pp. 21-6.
- (31) See Chapter Eight, ii.



# CHAPTER ONE : COMPARATIVE APPROACHES IN SPECIAL EDUCATION

It is important to analyse changes and developments in special education in some kind of a comparative perspective, to avoid assuming that developments in one country are the 'norm', and to prevent social analyses of special education becoming nationalistic or ethnocentric. (1)

## **Introduction**

In this Chapter the current status of comparative research in the field of special education in England and the United States will be examined. The Chapter will suggest, by indicating that there is little evidence of comparative studies concerning this aspect of education, that an increasingly important phenomenon in schools has not been considered in the literature. It will be demonstrated, by reference to existing literature, that comparative study in special education is a relatively under-researched aspect of education. Furthermore, it will be suggested that the few comparative studies which do exist in special education tend to do so at the level of macro-analysis of policy, rather than considerations of the practical aspects of teaching and learning in the classroom. Finally, within the general field of special education as a whole, it will be argued that the phenomenon of the disruptive student has largely been absent from the literature of comparative analysis.

### **i. Review of Existing Literature : Comparative Approaches to Special Education in England and the United States**

Little evidence appears in the comparative literature of a tradition of either formal or informal relationships between special educators working in the classrooms of England and the United States. This may be regarded as unusual, in that there is evidence that there has always been a drift of educational ideas from one country to the other (2). That this movement has largely been from the United States to England in special education is perhaps a simplistic interpretation of events. Nevertheless North American influences are clear in such areas as assessment (3) developmental psychology (4), behaviour modification(5) and sociological interpretations (6).

More specifically, major legislation in the United States concerning special education in the 1970's, with its emphasis upon mainstreaming, had considerable impact on educational

thinking in England. The influence of that legislation, referred to as Public Law 94-142 (1977) (7), upon the deliberations of the Warnock Committee (1978) (8) and the resulting Education Act in England (1981) (9) is consequently acknowledged in much of the subsequent literature relating to special education (10). In this study this legislation will be referred to as PL 94-142 and the 1981 Education Act respectively.

One aspect of special education provision in England and the United States has frequently been problematic, following this national legislation in special education in the two countries. This concerns the issue of integration or mainstreaming (11) of those school-students defined (in legal terms) as requiring some form of special education because of so-called behaviour problems (12) and the resulting differential application of this concept from region to region within each country (13).

Such a problematic issue is important in a study of disruptive students for three reasons. Firstly this group of school-students are often an informal category, in that they usually remain un-ascertained or un-stated under the current legislative procedures obtaining in either England or the United States (14). Secondly the issue of integration *per se* raises several practical and philosophical considerations, which are frequently debated when the educational placement of disruptive students is being discussed (15). Finally, arguments for or against integration have to be viewed in relation to the facilities available to accommodate those disruptive students who are removed from mainstream classes in the first place. Where no special provision exists it may be axiomatic that the integration debate may be non-existent (16).

There have been frequent cross-national references, in both England and the United States, to the extent to which integration has taken place following national legislation. Barton & Tomlinson point to the development of a critical literature in this area in England (17). In the United States as well, references are made to the dilemmas surrounding integration, and a large body of literature has developed concerning it (18).

Critiques of integration are of particular importance in that they usually relate to formally stated students under England's 1981 Act (19), or ascertained students under PL 94-142 in the United States (20). It is correct, however, to point to the equivalent, yet perhaps more complicated, debate concerning the position within school systems in England and the United States of the disruptive student, who has a 'non-clinical' or informal status (21). Such debates have tended to remain outside the scope of comparative approaches in special education (22), although recent examples from the literature do suggest a changing picture (23).

A number of studies do pursue a comparative approach to special education of problem students in some depth (24). Gordon (25) offers a number of 'lessons from America', including the development of individual programmes of study for students who have difficulty adjusting to normal lessons. Vaughan & Shearer (26) suggest further developments for England and Wales in the light of educational practice in Massachusetts, amongst which the provision of '....far more flexibility in the regular schools' structure and curriculum' (27) is regarded as important.

Notwithstanding these examples, the indication is that comparative studies in special education are not commonplace. Whilst the effects of 'educational borrowing', relative to both legislation and professional practice, are frequently visible between England and United States, it is difficult to locate substantive comparative studies (28).

## **ii. Disruptive Students in Comparative Studies relating to England and the United States**

It is possible to extend this overview by looking more specifically at existing comparative work on disruptive students in England and the United States. Here again it is apparent that there exists a substantial gap in the literature concerning this aspect of special education, which has increased in scale and importance in both countries during the period from about 1970 onwards (29). Vaughan & Shearer (30) have, for example, shown that students with what are loosely called adjustment difficulties are disproportionately represented in special education provision outside of mainstream schools of England and United States (31). Carrier confirms the conclusion of this overview (32).

The integration versus segregation dilemma surrounding disruptive students in the United States is explored by Weatherly & Lipsky (33), who claim that PL 94-142 may have resulted in

a wholesale shifting of responsibility for  
troublesome children from the regular classroom  
teacher to a specialist resource room teacher. (34)

This observation has also been made in England (35). Tomlinson, for example, maintains that the use of special facilities for maladjusted students is one means by which control can be exercised over this section of the school-student population (36).

Elsewhere it is evident that much of the comparative work that exists relating to disruptive students concerns structural differences of organisation (37) or ideological underpinnings of provision (38). For example, Carrier offers a number of comparative studies on the

subject in which English and North American provision is compared (39). In these there is a focus upon a number of main themes, which are dealt with from a macro-theoretical perspective (40). Thus, Carrier considers such things as the cultural understandings of ability and disability, the social processes of identification and the extra-school influences affecting the development and operation of special education (41). Similar approaches can be identified in literature originating in England (42).

Finally, a review of comparative literature from England and the United States reveals little evidence that the views of disruptive students have been researched when matters of school discipline, behaviour problems and similar phenomenon are being explored (43). This would appear to be a serious omission, at a time when research into discipline procedures in schools in both England (44) and the United States (45) is suggesting the need for more student involvement in school disciplinary procedures.

Within the small body of literature that is available, Everhart (46) states that challenges to institutional authority tended to take place in eighteenth and nineteenth century England, but in the twentieth century in the United States. As part of this challenge, Everhart suggests that students 'negotiate' an outcome with their teacher (47). Whilst such strategies have been well-documented in both England (48) and United States (49), there remains little evidence of comparative work on the subject. The dynamic process of such negotiations, involving disruptive students and those who teach them, will be considered in Chapter Six of this study, where the concept of the 'individual reality' of the disruptive student will be explored.

## **Conclusion**

In this introductory review some evidence has been offered to suggest that comparative approaches concerning special education in England and the United States are infrequent. This is in spite of a number of common policy themes and concerns in the two countries, notably issues relating to integration, difficulties regarding the gap between policy and practice, and problems relating to definitions of disability. Many of these themes are particularly relevant to non-formal special education provision for so-called disruptive students. This is a categorisation which, it has been argued above, has been used to describe those students who have not been formally ascertained under the special education legislation which obtains in England and the United States (50) : in consequence, disruptive students are one group of school-students who are educated predominantly within the mainstream system. This introductory overview has additionally demonstrated that the non-

formal category of students, who are termed disruptive, has received little critical attention from the comparative researcher in either England or the United States.

A comparative approach to the phenomenon of the disruptive student in England and the United States offers a number of possibilities. In England, successive government education ministers have sought to make comparisons with other countries when proposing or defending initiatives by the Department of Education and Science during the period from 1970 to 1990 (51). Relatively few of these initiatives have related to disruptive behaviour in schools (52), in spite of concerns being repeatedly voiced about apparent worsening standards of behaviour in both countries (53).

Moreover, there is little evidence that the views of individual students who are termed disruptive by their teachers and administrators have been considered. This may seem unusual given the current movement in England and the United States towards effective schools (54), one of the acknowledged attributes of which is an increase in student participation (55). The evidence to the Elton Committee (1989) in England, for example, was based almost exclusively upon the viewpoints of administrators, teachers, and politicians (56). And, whilst the report did draw upon the North American experience (57), it did not do this from the perspective of the student. Again, this is somewhat paradoxical: whilst the implicit agenda of the Elton Report was the search for 'better schools', examples of which are frequently drawn by English theoreticians and legislators from the United States (58), there was little reference to the development of student advocacy concerning discipline issues from that country. This comparative study, therefore, is an attempt to investigate the views of disruptive students and subsequently to provide a number of themes which may be useful as possible guidelines for the involvement of such students in the school procedures and processes which most concern them.

In the first instance, however, the current context of the phenomenon of the disruptive student in schools in England and the United States needs to be established, so that a number of important social, economic and political considerations which impact on such students can be illustrated. This is the task of the following Chapter.

## NOTES : CHAPTER 1

- (1) Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (1984) Special Education and Social Interests. Beckenham; Croom Helm. p.5.
- (2) Fraser, S. (1964). Jullien's Plan for Comparative Education 1816- 1817. New York; Teachers College, Columbia University.
- (3) As evidenced by the introduction of IQ tests by psychologists in England and USA at approximately the same time. See Carrier, J. (1984). 'Comparative Special Education : Ideology, Differentiation and Allocation in England and the United States'. in Barton, L. Tomlinson, S. (1984). Special Education and Social Interests. Beckenham; Croom Helm. p.53.
- (4) The work of Baldwin in the late 19th century is one example of this. Many developmental tests used by educational psychologists in England have North American origins. See Baldwin, J. (1895). Mental Development in the Child and the Race, New York.
- (5) For example, the formative work by Ainscow & Tweddle (1979) in England draws upon a long tradition of behaviourist work in the United States (Watson, 1919; Thorndike, 1898; Skinner, 1938). See Ainscow, M. & Tweddle, D. (1979). Preventing Classroom Failure. London; Methuen. Watson, J. (1919). Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviourist. Philadelphia; Lippincott, J. & Thorndike, E. (1898). 'Animal intelligence : An experimental study of the associative processes in animals'. Psychological Review Monograph Supplements, 2 (4), pp.1-109. Skinner, B. (1938). The Behaviour of Organisms. New York; Appleton Century-Crofts.
- (6) Keddie (1971) in England discusses the differential allocation of educational resources based upon a teacher's attitude to certain children. This interpretation would seem to owe much to Rist's (1970) research on the same subject in the United States. See Keddie, N. (1971). 'Classroom Knowledge' in Bellack, et.al. (Eds.) Curriculum and Evaluation. Berkeley; McCutcheon Publishing. Rist, R. (1970) 'Student social class and teacher expectations - the self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education', Harvard Educational Review (40), August. pp. 411-451.
- (7) Education for All Handicapped Children Act, 1975 (Public Law 94-142).
- (8) DES (1978) Special Educational Needs (Warnock Report) London HMSO.
- (9) DES (1981) Education Act, London; HMSO.
- (10) Hegarty, S. & Pocklington, K. (1985). Educating Pupils with Special Needs in the Ordinary School. Windsor; NFER-Nelson and Barton, L. Tomlinson, S. (1984). 'The Politics of Integration in England' in Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. Special Education and Social Interests. Beckenham; Croom Helm, provide two examples.
- (11) 'Integration' has been the term most commonly used in England to describe the process of incorporating students who have special educational needs into mainstream schools. In the United States the term 'mainstreaming' is widely used. This study will use the former term.
- (12) In England, Higgins & Priest (1990) recognised the problematic nature of combining 'emotion' and 'behaviour' in a formal definition of one category of special education as defined by the 1981 Education Act. In the USA, Epstein et.al. (1977) acknowledge the long standing confusion and debate concerning definitions of 'behaviour disorders' in 45 states under the terms of PL 94-142. See Higgins, A. & Priest, S. (1990). 'Resolving conflicts between young people'. Educational Psychology in Practice, 6 (2), pp.60-64; and Epstein, M., Cullinan, D. & Sabatino, D. (1977). 'State definitions of behavior disorders', Journal of Special Education, 11 (2), pp.417-25.
- (13) In the USA, Epstein et.al.(op.cit) offer survey evidence of this regional variation. Evans, J., Goacher, B., Wedell, K. & Welton, J. discuss the differential application of the 1981 Education Act in England in Jones, N. (Ed.) (1989) Special Educational Needs Review Vol.1 Lewes; Falmer pp.35-49.
- (14) In England, disruptive students can be assigned to special units without a statement of special educational needs. They are, as Bash, Coulby & Jones (1985), point out, a non-ascertained or nonformal category . In the USA, Clarizio (1987) outlines the exclusionary

clause for 'socially maladjusted' students in PL 94142 : many such students are regarded as disruptive. See Bash, L., Coulby, D. & Jones, C. (1985). Urban Schooling, Eastbourne; Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p.108; and Clarizio, H. (1987). 'Differentiating emotionally impaired from socially maladjusted students', Psychology in the Schools, 24 (2), pp. 237-243

(15) Examples of the general level of debate surrounding this issue can be drawn from Stobart, G. (1986) 'Is integrating the handicapped psychologically defensible?'. Bulletin of The British Psychological Society, 39 (1), pp.1-3 (England), and Nelson, C., Rutherford, R., Center, D. & Walker, H. (1991) 'Do Public Schools Have an Obligation to Serve Troubled Children and Youth', Exceptional Children, March, pp. 406-415 (USA).

(16) Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (1984) 'The Politics of Integration in England' in Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (Eds.) (1984) (Op.cit.). The authors discuss this issue at length.

(17) Ibid. pp.65-80

(18) See Zigler, E., & Hall, N. (1986) 'Mainstreaming and the Philosophy of Normalization' in Meisel, C. (Ed.) (1986) Mainstreaming Handicapped Children : Outcomes, Controversies and New Directions Hillsdale; Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

(19) Hegarty et al. (op.cit). In England support for the 'integration' of students who have Statements of special educational needs is particularly apparent for those with learning difficulties ('MLD' or 'SLD') or 'PH' students.

(20) Forness (1985) notes that large numbers of 'emotionally disturbed' students are often ineligible for special education programmes in the United States (p.39). Students who are regarded as 'socially maladjusted' are not included in PL 94-142 legislation. Forness, S. (1985) 'Effects of public policy at State level : California's impact on MR, LD and ED categories' RASE, 6 (3), pp.36-43.

(21) The argument here is that, whilst under the terms of special education legislation in both countries the student who is categorised receives legal recognition for his disability, the same protection is not available to those students who remain within mainstream schools as disruptives : as such they are identified informally, based upon the perceptions of the teachers.

(22) Literature on disruptive students remains country specific, as this introductory Chapter illustrates. This view is confirmed by Vaughan, M. & Shearer, A. (1986) Mainstreaming in Massachusetts London; CSIE p. 1.

(23) See, for example, Fulcher, G. (1990) 'Students with special needs : lessons from comparisons' Journal of Education Policy, 5 (4), pp.347-358.

(24) See Clark, M. (1983) 'Reforming Special Education : A Comparative Study of the United States and Britain'. Unpublished M.A. London; Institute of Education, London University; Grimwood, H. (1983) 'The Integration of Handicapped Children into Ordinary Schools : A Comparative Study of England and USA'. Unpublished M.A. London; Institute of Education, London University; Kirp, D (1983) 'Professionalization as a policy choice : British Special Education in comparative perspective' in Chambers, J. & Hartman, W. (Eds.) Special Education Policies : Their History, Implementation & Finance Philadelphia; Temple University Press. pp.74-112; Gordon, M. (1986) 'Lessons from America', Support for Learning, 1 (2), pp. 3-7.

(25) Gordon (op.cit), p. 6.

(26) Vaughan, M. & Shearer, A. (1986) (op.cit).

(27) Ibid p.35. Both curriculum issues and organisation and ethos of the school were two of the most frequent topics of conversation (of four main topics) of a group of disruptive students in the pilot study (see Chapter Eight, section iii).

(28) Even in 1989 Barton is prepared to comment that 'Our knowledge and understanding of other societies, their systems of education, educational policies, perspectives on and provisions for disabled people is often ill-informed and inadequate'. See Fulcher, G. (1989) Disabling Policies ? A comparative approach to education policy and disability, Basingstoke; Falmer. p. ix.

(29) This can be seen in the growth of 'off-site' units for disruptive students in England during the period 1970-1980 (DES, 1978) : 85 out of 239 known units were established during this period. In the USA, Deal & Nolan (1978) record the growth of 'alternative schools' at a similar time : see Deal, T. & Nolan, R. (1978) Alternative Schools : Ideologies; Realities; Guidelines, Chicago; Nelson-Hall.

- (30) Vaughan, M. & Shearer, A. (1986) (op.cit.).
- (31) Ibid. p. 33.
- (32) Carrier, J. (1989) 'Sociological Perspectives on Special Education', New Education, 11, 1), pp. 21-31.
- (33) Weatherly, R. & Lipsky, M. (1977) 'Street Level Bureaucrats and Institutional Innovation : Implementing Special Education Reform' Harvard Educational Review, 47 (2), pp. 171-197.
- (34) Ibid. (p.183).
- (35) Discussed by Wolpe, A. (1985) 'Schools, Discipline and Social Control' in Barton, L & Walker, S. (1985) Education and Social Change, Beckenham; Croom Helm. pp. 152-172.
- (36) Tomlinson, S. (1986) 'Special Educational Needs' in Hartnett, A. & Naish, M. (Eds.) Education and Society Today, Lewes; Falmer. pp.47-61.
- (37) As in Gordon (op.cit) and Stobart, G. & Trickey, G. (1985) 'Mainstreaming a lesson from America ?' The Times Educational Supplement 13.9.85
- (38) Fulcher, G. (1989) (op.cit.). The author presents a set of ideologies for special education in a comparison of English and Californian policy.
- (39) Carrier, J. (1984) 'Comparative Special Education : Ideology, Differentiation and Allocation in England and the United States' in Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (Eds.) (op.cit.) pp.35-64; Carrier, J. (1986) 'Sociology and special education : differentiation and allocation in mass education', American Journal of Education, 94, pp. 281-312.
- (40) Carrier, J. (op.cit.) p. 35.
- (41) Ibid. p. 37-41.
- (42) Oliver, M. (1985) 'The Integration - Segregation debate : some sociological considerations', British Journal of Sociology, 6 (1), pp. 75-92.
- (43) Friedman, L. (1986) 'Limited monarchy : the rise and fall of student rights' in Kirp, D. & Jensen, D. (Eds.) School Days. Rule Days, Philadelphia; Falmer. pp.238-254.
- (44) Glynn, T. (1992) 'Discipline is for the whole school', in Wheldall, K (Ed.) Discipline in Schools. Psychological perspectives on the Elton Report, London; Routledge. p. 23.
- (45) Stevenson, D. (1991) 'Deviant Students as a Collective Resource in Classroom Control', Sociology of Education, 64, April. p.127.
- (46) Everhart, R. (1983) Reading, Writing and Resistance Boston; RKP
- (47) Ibid. p.197.
- (48) Woods, P. (1979) The Divided School, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Denscombe, M. (1980) 'Pupil Strategies and Open Classrooms', in Woods, P. (Ed.) Pupil Strategies : exploring the sociology of the school, London; Croom Helm.
- (49) Sedlak, M., Wheeler, C., Pullan, D. & Cusick, P. (1985) 'High School Reform and the 'Bargain to Learn'', Education and Urban Society, 17, pp.204-214.
- (50) In England, the Education Act of 1981. Its counterpart in the United States is PL.94-142.
- (51) The reference to the 'Magnet Schools' of the United States in 1988 by the then Secretary of State for Education in England is one example
- (52) North American schools are referred to briefly in The Elton Report (1989), p.214; visits by the English HMI to US schools have mainly covered aspects of curriculum and school organisation (see The Times Educational Supplement, 23.2.90 and HMI (1990) Teaching and Learning in New York City Schools London; HMSO).
- (53) This point is illustrated by media coverage in both countries. The Sunday Times (22.7.90) contained an article with the banner headline 'Scandal : a bitter journey through the battlefield of British schools' ; during September, 1990 CBS TV ran a series of programmes colourfully entitled 'America's Toughest Assignment : Solving the Education Crisis' (report in The Seattle Times, 2.9.90).
- (54) Summarised by Reynolds, D. (1989) in Creemers, B., Peters, T. & Reynolds, D. (1989) School Effectiveness and School Improvement, Amsterdam; Swets & Zeitlinger pp.70-72.
- (55) Equality of educational opportunity is seen as a characteristic of an effective school. This includes increased opportunity for student advocacy : see de Jong, M. & Braster, S. (1989) 'Effective Schools and Equal Opportunities', in Creemers, B. et.al. (op.cit), pp. 167-176.



(56) The Elton Report (op.cit), pp. 205-214.

(57) Ibid. p. 214.

(58) Reynolds, D.(1989) 'Country Reports. England & Wales' in Creemers, B., et. al.  
(op.cit. p.71.

## CHAPTER TWO : ESTABLISHING A CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

### Introduction

This Chapter will establish a contemporary context for examining the 'reality' of disruptive students in England and the United States, as expressed by their views concerning their school experiences. The importance of acknowledging a broad contextual background in comparative educational research based upon a case-study approach has been highlighted by Crossley and Vulliamy, who suggested that by placing small-scale events in a regional or national context it may be possible to identify differences between policy and practice (1).

In the present comparative study, context will be provided by firstly giving an historical overview of the phenomenon of the disruptive student, in order to highlight a number of potential parallels between the two countries.

Secondly, the position of the disruptive student in a recent context will be established by reviewing the literature from the period 1970 to 1990. This has been a period when increasing concern was expressed, in both England and the United States, regarding the problem of disruptive students in schools (2). This review will attempt to demonstrate that, whilst increased concern has been expressed by politicians, administrators and teachers regarding the alleged growth of disruption in schools in the England and the United States (3), there was little evidence to support the view that there had been an increase in disruptive behaviour in schools(4). Moreover, it has been the case, in both England and the United States , that many studies which have supported the view that disruptive students and their behaviours are becoming more frequent in schools have been criticised because of their methodological inadequacies.

During much of the period prior to 1970 the focus of both public and professional concern tended to be placed upon whole schools, rather than upon individual students who are identified as disruptive (5). As a result, it is possible that important information may not be made available to assist in the movement, clearly identified in both England and the United States, towards more effective schools, one of the attributes of which is the incorporation of the views of the students (6).

Within the period 1970 to 1990 there tended to be a move towards individualised approaches towards problem behaviours in schools in both England and the United States. This section of the Chapter, therefore, attempts to theorise the shift in thinking which took place, whereby individual students rather than whole schools were regarded as disruptive: in other words, it is suggested that the period marked a move in conceptualising the phenomenon from institutional to individual terms.

The historical and recent background of the phenomenon will then be used to provide a contemporary contextual overview, in order to outline a set of common themes present in the responses of the education systems of England and the United States to the informally categorised disruptive student. Subsequently, it will be argued that these themes have contributed to a series of discourses for the disruptive student in both countries, and these will then be outlined.

The rationale for this approach is closely linked to the problematic issue of definition and, in consequence, it is important to acknowledge this at an early stage of the study. Frude & Gault (7) have commented that "disruption is not 'behaviour' but 'behaviour in context' " (8). In both the United States and England there has been considerable emphasis upon establishing a critique of disruptive behaviour in schools via the context, both general and particular, in which those behaviours are inclined to occur (9). A frequent interpretation has been to define this 'context' in terms of time and spatial location, because it enables the context specificity of the behaviours of the disruptive student to form part of a definition of the term (10). This theoretical viewpoint will be considered in some detail in Chapter Five, when the issue of definition is debated in full.

An acknowledgement of the notion of 'definition in context' is of additional importance in this study because an analysis of historical and contemporary scenarios provides one of the crucial underpinnings for a locational definition of the disruptive student. This will subsequently be discussed in Chapter Three. There it will be argued that disruptive students are especially located in urban situations. The urban specificity of the phenomenon is, therefore, a spatial extension of the temporal contexts which are presented in the present Chapter.

## **i. The Historical Overview**

A historical sketch of the phenomenon of disruptive students and their behaviours in schools indicates that, despite many differences there are some similarities between England and the United States. In both cases there always seems to have been a problem of

disruptive behaviour by students in schools (11). Aries has offered a historical dimension, quoting, for example, the series of rebellions and school strikes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in England (12). Later, Furlong was able to comment that

All that can be said with any certainty is that  
challenging behaviour at schools is nothing new  
.....it has a history as long as mass education  
itself. (13)

This carries the suggestion that problem behaviours in schools should be regarded as structural features of educational life. A further implication is that it is the management of students who are regarded as disruptive which is the highlighted issue, rather than any attempt to remediate those features of schools which may cause students to behave inappropriately in the first place. This argument is examined more fully in Chapter Four of this study.

Also in England, the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, in describing the Ragged Schools (14), offered a graphic account of the extent of disruption, describing the 'tumultuous conduct' in many urban schools :

The floors were sprinkled with blood, benches  
broken down, lesson boards torn asunder, the  
scholars tumbling over each other in wild  
confusion, the master with his clothes torn,  
teachers obliged to escape for their lives out  
of the windows, and over the roofs of houses. (15)

Other documents relating to the Ragged Schools provide evidence of similar disruption (16). One new teacher reflected that, on one occasion,

I had to punish a boy slightly this morning; he  
swore and blasphemed most horribly and rushed from  
the school. I took little notice of this display and  
sat down calmly to hear the class with which I was  
engaged....I was suddenly startled by a large stone  
passing my ear....I got out of reach of the stones  
thrown into the window and continued the lesson.  
Several followed, half a dozen at least. He was ready  
in the court with a brick in his hand to have his  
revenge when I came out. With some difficulty I got out  
to the lane without being obliged to run....I considered it  
best to call at the police station to ask for a convoy.  
This was readily granted. (17)

Furlong (18) and Humphries (19) expand further on the historical theme of disruptive behaviour in English schools. The indications are, from these and other studies, that problematic behaviour by school-students has been a salient feature of the educational landscape for at least 150 years in England.

A similar historical pattern can be traced in the United States. In 1837, for example, Grund (20) complained that

There is little disposition on the part of the  
American children to obey the uncontrollable  
will of their masters as on the part of their  
fathers to submit to the mandates of kings. (21)

Mann (22) maintained that North American schools were characterised by idleness and disorder. Confrontation between teachers and students was frequent. In 1917, for example, between 1,000 and 3,000 schoolchildren picketed and stoned their school on the Upper East Side of New York. In the resultant riots more than 5,000 demonstrators fought pitched battles with the police (23). Another example is given by Bybee and Gee (24). They noted that a co-educational school in Boston reported that, during 1844, it had administered an average of 130 floggings per day amongst a total school population of 250 (25).

During the first seventy years of the twentieth century additional widespread evidence is available of disruptive behaviour in English and North American schools. In England this may be demonstrated in part by the 'school strikes' of that period. Humphries (26) suggested that over 100 such demonstrations occurred in the period 1880 to 1939 and teachers' unions continued to voice concern over what was regarded as the  
ill effects that some aspects of the moral climate  
of our time is having on children and young people. (27)

In the United States, Hennings in 1949 (28) suggested that lying and disrespect were the most serious behaviour problems encountered by 225 high school principals. In 1956, a National Education Association (NEA) survey showed that 'violence' was emerging as a problem : the study showed that 28% of teachers in large cities were aware of an act of physical violence against a teacher (29).

It is apparent that the historical evidence concerning disruptive students and their behaviours (in whatever terms they are defined) in schools in England and the United States suggests that this is not a new phenomenon. Whilst many reports from both England and the United States refer to disruption in schools (two authors also refer to so-called 'disrupted schooling') (30), the phenomenon has tended to be interpreted as a macro-issue, often linked to the overall problem of social, economic and political stability (31). In the period from about 1970 onwards, however, the influence of interpretative approaches in the sociology of education and the impact on educational thinking and practice of the philosophy of child-centered approaches during the same period has stimulated a focus

upon the individual school student, including the student who is disruptive (32). This phenomenon is explored in more detail in section iv. of the present Chapter.

Macro-concerns have therefore led some researchers to attempt to establish whether similar political and socio-economic conditions in two countries at particular points in time may have some relationship to both the extent of disruption in schools and to the historical period when such disruption occurred. The disruptive student, in such an analysis, is therefore considered as one part of a wider educational and social context. This seems to be somewhat at odds with the predominantly 'medical' and 'within child' models of analysis which have dominated special education assessment procedures in both England and the United States until the late 1970's (33). Both themes, and their attendant paradoxes, will be revisited at various points in this thesis. In particular, the issue of identification of disruptive students, which is frequently based upon the individual experiences of teachers in schools, appears to be especially context bound (34).

## **ii. Research on Disruptive Students in England and the United States : 1970-1990**

A contemporary context for the disruptive student will now be presented, so that a continuity might be identified between the historical examples provided in the previous section and the situation which currently obtains in both England and the United States. This will indicate a continuing concern in the education systems of England and the United States with the problem posed by disruptive students. This will be accomplished by reference to the period 1970 to 1990 which, it might be argued, has been that part of the twentieth century when societal concern about disruptive students in schools in England and the United States has been at its most apparent. Such an argument may be supported by reference to numerous reports during the period from the professional associations for teachers in England and the United States (35). Views expressed in the media in both countries also indicate this level of societal concern about disruptive behaviour by students in schools (36).

In England, the two decades leading up to 1990 had been marked by a number of inquiries into the problem of disruption in schools. In 1972 one of the major teacher unions conducted a survey of its members concerning violence in schools (37). Although the survey had a very low response rate, and its design was regarded as flawed (38), it did indicate the high level of teacher concern amongst the respondents.

A second survey by the same union confirmed a view that disruptive behaviour was more frequent in secondary schools, that boys rather than girls would engage in it, and that it was the final year of compulsory secondary schooling which marked the high point for behaviours of this kind (39).

Partly as a response to such concerns, the period from 1970 to 1990 was marked by a series of initiatives by Local Education Authorities (LEA's) in England to either conduct research on (40), or make provision for (41), disruptive students. The latter was usually characterised by the creation of either 'off-site' or 'on-site' centres for students who could no longer be contained in mainstream classrooms (42). All of these developments added support to the suggestion that this period was marked by a continued concern about the problem of the disruptive student in schools.

It was against this background in England that a series of government reports was produced. The Department of Education and Science (DES) reported 7.68 incidents of 'violence' per 10,000 students and 3.81 incidents of 'rowdyism' per 10,000 students in secondary schools in 1975 (43). In 1979 Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) noted few problems of lack of discipline on a 10% sample of English schools (44). HMI (1987) supported this general view and pointed out that

The general picture of behaviour within schools which emerges from these publications is that the overwhelming majority of schools are orderly communities in which there are good standards of behaviour and discipline; poor behaviour is unusual and serious indiscipline a rare occurrence. (45)

There nevertheless remained a view, supported by numerous reports in the mass media (46) that serious problems of disorder remained in schools in England. In 1987, partly as a result of these concerns, the Secretary of State for Education set up an enquiry into discipline in schools (47). The Elton Report presented its findings in 1989 (48). Research for the enquiry, conducted by Ruddock and Gray, suggested that contrary to expectations, no serious concerns existed amongst teachers and that the general level of disruptive behaviour in the schools surveyed was low (49).

In the United States a similar recent historical development can be traced. In the early 1970's the United States Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency began paying considerable attention to the problem of disruption in schools (50). In 1975 a Gallup poll of public attitudes towards education indicated that the population's primary concern was that of lack of discipline in schools (51).

By the late 1970's, however, a number of studies had been conducted (52) which presented a different picture to that portrayed in the mass media. These culminated in the 'Safe School Study' of 1978 (53). Here the English view seemed to be supported : whilst most schools were orderly and well-disciplined learning environments, there were some problems related to indiscipline in the age-range 14-16 years. It is worth noting that most delinquent behaviour outside school also occurs in this age group (54). Indeed, some commentators regard both delinquency in general and disruptive behaviour in schools in particular as a feature of the psychological development of many adolescents (55).

Nevertheless, throughout the period from 1980 to 1990 in the United States, as in England, concerns continued to be expressed by politicians, educators and parents regarding the extent of disruption in high schools. This culminated in the 'Nation At Risk' report (1983), which had a particular emphasis upon dropping-out and problem behaviours (56). In 1985 Baker, by using statistics from the National Education Association (NEA) Teacher Opinion Poll (57), was able to comment that

The available evidence, though not complete,  
suggests that in far too many of our schools  
uncivil and even criminal behavior disrupts the  
learning process. (58)

Additionally, Jones and Kolar reported the results of a readership survey from 'The Education Digest' (59). In this, 11% of the respondents indicated that student discipline was a major issue. Such findings confirmed the views gathered in the annual surveys by Phi Delta Kappa during much of the period 1970-1990 (60), namely that discipline problems in schools were a cause of concern to many teachers (61).

As in England, however, there was a contradictory analysis. Sacken (62) concluded that the available data did not suggest that the problem of school disorder was serious :

Ironically, such data as exist tend to show that,  
apart from a relatively small number of truly  
disrupted school environments, school discipline  
remains a banality. From many sources one can  
conclude that most discipline involves student  
behaviors that are irritating to educators, but,  
if disruptive, not significantly so. (63)

Similarly, Chase's major survey of 1982 had indicated that findings from the sample defied reports in the popular press, in that the students frequently stated that they did not see their schools as hostile or irrelevant places (64). It may be that such discrepancies are best summarised by Ban (65), who observed that

Its impact (unruly student conduct) has not  
diminished today, despite the problem that it  
is not a problem in most public schools. (66)



In sum, the available evidence, from both England and the United States, regarding the incidence of disruptive behaviour by students in schools remains confused. This relates to a very general and loose description of anti-social behaviour by school attenders who cause disruption, the definitions of which have yet to be explored : this will be the task of Chapter Five.

An overview of the period 1970 to 1990 also shows an important shift in emphasis in the way in which disruptive behaviour by students was conceptualised. This shift marks a gradual move away from a concern with whole schools, and the effects of disruptive behaviour on the school as an institution, to a focus upon the disruptive students themselves and the effects which the school has upon the individual student. The remainder of this section will explore a number of aspects of this change in emphasis.

This changing situation, apparent in both England and the United States, may be interpreted in a number of ways. In the first place, it would seem to reflect the move by many educationists towards child-centred education in the late 1960's and through the 1970's. This was mainly apparent in primary education (67). A focus was placed upon an individual student's experiences, which was then used as a starting point from which the learning process could develop. It may have been partly a consequence of such thinking that there was a similar shift in special education from individual pathology to individual need (68). As a result, the student tended to become an important focus for research.

A second explanation, relevant only to England, may have been that the raising of the school-leaving age in 1970 meant that attention was suddenly focussed upon a particular group of students in schools who tended not to be inclined towards academic subjects and who, according to one student, felt that they had 'had eanuf (sic) of it....it has no interest at all' (69). Prior to 1970, such students would have left school at the age of 15 years. Moreover, this group of students included substantial numbers who were perceived to be the source of discipline problems (70). In consequence policy decisions, curricula and funding arrangements were substantially underpinned by the notion of responding to the needs of a particular type of school student (71).

A further possible cause for the focus upon individual students within the school systems of England and the United States came with the developing interest in 'school quality' in the 1980's (72). One of the indicators used to establish quality was student discipline (73). As a result there were several national and local initiatives which sought to define more clearly those school responses which were more successful in the management of

disruptive students. The disruptive students thus tended to become individualised within the school system (74).

A number of other, more general, explanations for the shift towards a view which regarded disruptive students as a discrete part of the the school systems of England and the United States can be broadly hinted at. In England, the tripartite system tended to encourage comparison between different types of schools (75). With the arrival of the comprehensive school, society began to adopt an alternative stance : thus Wright (76) comments that

It is with the coming of the comprehensive schools that these things have begun to 'crawl out of the woodwork'. Journalists, politicians and broadcasters now find their children are going to schools alongside youngsters who would in the past have been hidden from sight and sound in some back-street sink school. (77)

Moreover, in the absence of many ethnographic studies of small groups of students prior to 1970 (78), the problem of disruption was seen in the context of a whole school, where corporate, rather than individual, rationales and responses prevailed. A final potential reason for the shift in thinking from disruptive schools to disruptive individuals, outlined above, may therefore have been the influence of sociological approaches based upon the interpretative paradigms of symbolic interactionism and social phenomenology (79). This changing situation is well documented in England by Hammersley (80), and in the United States by Le Compte and Goertz (81). One result of this change in emphasis was the adoption of research strategies which focussed upon small-scale interactions within individual classrooms. These are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Seven.

### **iii. The Broader Contemporary Context**

In both England and the United States it may be argued that the concerns regarding disruptive students expressed by politicians, educationists and the general public during the period from 1970 to 1990 were concerns which relate to the perceived stability of the systems of education in the two countries. This, in turn, is informed by certain ideological concepts (82). In both England and the United States, this period was one where the status quo in education, based upon dominant themes of intelligence and competition through excellence, were being increasingly challenged by a number of factors, of which four may be of particular importance in developing a contemporary context for researching the views of the disruptive student.

In the first instance, it may be suggested that the two decades under consideration represented the fruits of a considerable shift in thinking concerning the value of education. It has been argued, in the previous section of this Chapter, that the 1960's were representative of a new child-centredness in education (83). This was characterised by a number of often overlapping educational and social philosophies, ranging from the educational liberalism of Plowden, Dewey and Paolo Freire to the overt demands for equality of a Woodstock generation (84). One argument has been that the 1970's may have subsumed much of this, both in a cultural and a professional sense, thereby creating an often subconscious tension between the established order and the desire for change.

Sapon-Shevin (85) interprets this movement as representative of a tension between equity and excellence in the schools of the United States. The author regarded this as a move which might place some students at an increased risk of becoming a disruptive school-attender. The argument is summarised thus :

One explanation is that current economic and political variables have minimized society's willingness to attend to the educational needs of all children..... (86)

and that

this omission can be seen as indicative of a national shift toward excellence and away from equity, and thus a devaluing of those students for whom the cost-benefit ratio of schooling to economic success is not easily assured. (87)

Whilst the ideological underpinnings of such a shift have been central to the general debate on special educational needs in both countries, they are noted here as an additional issue of context and background in considering the education of disruptive school students.

The second challenge to the existing order of things may have been the rapid technological advances and the increasingly uncertain technological base for most advanced capitalist nations. Successive governments, in both England and the United States, sought to establish, within their education systems, ways and means of meeting the challenge of this new era by an emphasis upon vocationalism and the increased certification of school leavers in compulsory education (88). The uncertain labour supply situation, either in relation to a supply of skilled workers or, conversely, unemployment as a result of a downturn in the national economy, was reflected in education by the raising of the school-leaving age and by increasing demands for certification for entry to working life (89). Old certainties regarding the perceived order of things were thus gradually being eroded.

A third possible explanation to changes in responses to compulsory education in England and the United States may be that increasing pressure was being placed on marginalised sectors of the population as a result of economic uncertainty and the desire by successive governments to promote the self-help philosophy necessary to offload welfare responsibilities from the State to the individual (90). It may not be a coincidence that the period from 1970 to 1990 saw increases in divorce, in one-parent child-rearing, in long-term bed and breakfast accommodation, and the often attendant social stresses that such conditions are inclined to induce (91).

The educational basis of this self-help ideology in both countries was rooted in closer central control of compulsory schooling, via moves towards prescribed national curricula embodying largely instrumental learning (92), competition (93) and a closer link between education and national economies through vocationalism (94). Each of these was underpinned by issues of the control and management of a school-aged population for ideological purposes. This has been acknowledged by theoreticians in both England and the United States (95).

Finally, it may be argued that, as in some previous periods in the history of the state education systems of England and the United States, the period from 1970 to 1990 was again marked by student demand for a greater degree of control over what had been happening to them in school. This phenomenon, it has been suggested, is by no means new. Nevertheless it is fair to point to sub-cultural responses in both countries which may be signalling the contemporary school-students' reactions to schooling in the post-modern era (96).

The broad contemporary context for examining the views of disruptive students, therefore, provides evidence that, on a macro-scale, the actions of school-students do not take place against a neutral backcloth. It is from this general overview that a series of discourses for the disruptive student within these broader contexts can now be theorised. This forms the basis of the final part of this Chapter.

#### **iv. Educational Discourses for Disruptive Students in England and the United States**

This section of the Chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part, a number of theoretical discourses for the students with disability in England and the United States will be outlined in order to demonstrate the marginal position of such students within the education services of each country. The second part will attempt to demonstrate a further

marginalisation, that of the disruptive student, within the special educational provision in both England and the United States. Finally the absence of student advocacy or self-advocacy will be indicated, which is in contrast to other, formal categories of special provision in the two countries.

### **(1) Theorising Disability in England & United States**

Fulcher (97) offers four discourses on disability which may be applied to special education services in England and the United States. The first of these, the medical discourse, implies some kind of impairment or loss (98). Disability is individualised, the suggestion being that the student is a patient who has a disease. This has been the traditional ideological interpretation for those who were regarded as requiring some form of special education in both England and United States (99). Such interpretations of disability are especially relevant to the problem of definition, an issue which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

A second interpretation is based upon the charity ethic (100) : the charity discourse. This theorises that a student who requires special education is in need of 'help' or is regarded as an object of pity. This had its early origins in the work of charitable foundations and trusts in both England and United States (101), and it remains an important explanatory theme within both systems (102).

The third discourse is what Fulcher refers to as a lay discourse. This is viewed as relating to the perceptions of lay people who do not have a professional involvement with the education system and little experiential knowledge of special education (103). The interpretation is dominated by medical and charitable ideologies outlined above. Here the child requiring special education is seen in terms of fear, prejudice, pity and ignorance. Such views have been commonplace in both England (104) and the United States (105).

Finally, special education provision in England and the United States can be interpreted within a so-called rights discourse (106). This is based upon the notion of equality of opportunity and individuality. In the United States this has emerged in the context of the civil rights movement in the 1960's and is currently enshrined in constitutional and legislative conditions (107). In England, on the other hand, such conditions do not exist as fundamental human rights (108), even for students who are formally statemented under the 1981 Education Act.

In each of these explanations there remains strong evidence in support of Hahn's (109) and Abberley's (110) view that those categorised as 'disabled' or in need of special provision within the education system are generally an oppressed category of 'under-citizens'. As such they have been consistently marginalised from mainstream educational provision in England and the United States.

## **(2) Disruptive Students within Special Education Systems**

The education of students who are termed disruptive is a discrete area of formal special education provision in England and the United States. In England, students may be categorised under the terms of the 1981 Education Act as having 'emotional and/or behavioural difficulties' (EBD) (111). In the United States, students may be referred as being emotionally disturbed (ED), behaviourally disturbed (BD) or having serious behavioural disabilities (SBD) (112). In both countries, categorisation implies some form of additional educational provision, although it has been noted, in the first part of this section, that there are important loop-holes in legislation for all statemented students in England. Contrastingly, in the United States, more legislative protection is available for ascertained students in these categories under PL 94-142 (113).

Both groups of formal categories within special education, which may include disruptive students, have tended to become marginalised groups within an already marginalised service (114). Historically, a major reason for this has been the involvement of the medical profession in dealing with the most difficult cases of behaviour problems (115). As the direct impact of doctors waned, the medical language of diagnosis, treatment and cure was adopted by psychologists (116). Hence the emphasis has been upon an individual illness or disease. At the same time, it has been argued that the perception of adults towards students with either physical disability or learning difficulty is often more favourable than towards the student with an (unseen) emotional disturbance (117).

The net result of such thinking has had considerable effect upon policy-making for disruptive students in both England and the United States. In the case of the former, Tomlinson (118) argued that, in the post-Second World War period,  
teachers in ordinary schools were taking full advantage  
of the deliberately vague and complex definitions  
of an 'ESN' child, and were using the category for  
the purpose of removing children who were troublesome  
in both learning and behavioural terms. (119)

Subsequently, under the Education Act of 1981 in England, the important position of educational psychologists was strengthened by their role in the process of formulating

'statements' of special educational need (120). Their position was described by Ingleby (1976) in forthright terms :

For if the human wreckage produced by the way society is organised can be discreetly removed, processed and returned in reusable form by these social garbage workers, then not only will the service avoid producing disruption itself: it will prevent the disturbance which might result if the evidence of the political system's failure to meet human needs were left in our midst. (121)

A similar position of status and importance in the decision-making role in ascertaining students under PL 94-142 was held by psychologists and psychiatrists in the United States (122). Wood, Smith & Grimes (1985) provide an example of this :

Today, the total decision regarding eligibility and program placement rests with the diagnostic educational staffing team. (123)

They go on to affirm that

eligibility for the category of behavioural disorders within special education should be controlled via high quality, defensible professional decision making. (124)

What is particularly instructive is that such advice appeared in one State's assessment manual. Thus, whilst the public rhetoric of PL 94-142 affirmed 'due process' (the right of an individual student to argue his/her case via a predetermined legal framework), the professional reality was one of dominance, whereby the medical terminology of 'diagnosis' was retained and the ascendancy of professional decision-making maintained. The inference within this process was that of a pathological interpretation of cause.

Such medical, or quasi-medical, interpretations had long been established in England upon a pre-existent understanding that such students were 'moral defectives' (125). In the United States, such a historical pedigree tended not to exist, although Hahn's (126) view was that 'marked deviations from the norm' result in widespread social practice of shunning and devaluing bodies which could not so easily be controlled. In the United States, Meares (127) notes the well-established use by the welfare state of medical practitioners to regulate or process exactly who is to be termed 'disabled'. This relies heavily upon procedures which are circumscribed by professional opinion.

Furthermore, it seems to be apparent that both the charity and the rights discourses are largely absent from an analysis of the position of disruptive students in England and United States. In the case of the former, there has been relatively little interest shown in the educational needs of disruptive students, given an absence of sympathy and an ideology of blame (128). Nor had provision for the behaviourally disturbed in the United States been a

major preoccupation of its education system until about the 1960's (129). Prior to that period such students were considered to be the responsibility of the mental health system.

One method of obtaining evidence for the absence of a 'charity' discourse in both countries would be a survey of charitable organisations dealing with aspects of disruptive behaviour. Yearbooks of Education in England and United States both demonstrate the relatively large number of groups and organisations dealing with disabilities, ranging from physical problems to mental disorders resulting in severe disability (130). Few interest groups, either professional or secular, exist to support the needs of disruptive students. (131). Partly as a result of the absence of advocacy in both countries, the category 'disruptive student' exists as a non-normative or informal category for which informal provision is provided in education systems, without additional large-scale support from external or education-related agencies.

### **(3) Disruptive Students : Advocacy and Self-advocacy**

In both England and the United States, therefore, the suggestion has been made that disruptive students are marginalised within both national education systems and special education provision *per se*. One aspect of this marginalisation is that there is an absence of an arena for a consideration of the views of the students themselves. Whilst it is not uncommon in many education systems for the 'consumer' to have no direct input into his/her educational processes (132), the disruptive student is in a position where, within mainstream education systems in England and United States, there are no formal procedures by which their views may be taken into account. In both countries the formal processes of ascertainment, under the 1981 Education Act and PL 94-142, only operate when informal, school-based, processes have been exhausted (133). These procedures often take many months to be completed.

In England, Tomlinson (134) notes that students who may be categorised as maladjusted are drawn from working class families. Essen and Wedge (135) also support this view, suggesting that 'disadvantaged 16-year olds were reported as behaving in a less acceptable way than their 'ordinary' peers both at home and at school' (136). Tomlinson then argues that the parents of such disruptive students find it much harder to negotiate with professionals than middle class parents (137).

The position in the United States appears to be somewhat different, partly as a result of the historical development of a civil rights movement noted earlier and the resulting legal actions, lobbying and new legislation which may have offered parents and pressure groups



a focus for action (138). Nevertheless, as most disruptive students are traditionally drawn from working class families in the United States, their ability to make use of these processes may be limited..

In both the English and United States' systems, therefore, the position of the disruptive student is tenuous, in that few formal processes exist for ascertainment within the legal frameworks of the education systems of the two countries. Parents and students, moreover, are often excluded from decision making partly by the social conditioning of their class and also by the increasing professionalisation of special education services in the two countries. Within this, an absence of student advocacy appears crucial, so that Mehan, Meihls, Hertweck and Crowdes (139) suggest that

....special educational needs reside in interaction  
processes in school, from practical circumstances in the  
school district and from conditions created by federal  
special education law rather than in a student's needs. (140)

In summarising this section, therefore, it should be noted that traditional and existing practices for dealing with students with disability, including disruptive students, in England and the United States have been interpreted as benefiting the existing social order. Thus, strategies are frequently underpinned by ideologies of control through blame. The use of alternative provision, whether within or outside mainstream schools, is seen as a means by which ordinary students and their teachers can continue the teaching and learning process without interruption.

## **Conclusion**

This Chapter has firstly provided a number of macro-contexts which form a basis for researching the views of disruptive students in England and the United States. From it some evidence in the English and North American literature has suggested that the phenomenon of the disruptive student in schools has been a long-standing issue, which has been a source of concern to many both within and without schools. One possible result of such concern is that systems of intervention, based upon normative and dominant ideologies, have been adopted in an attempt to address problems of difference which both formally categorised and, in the case of this study, informally categorised special education students, pose for the school systems in the two countries.

In addition, the final section of the Chapter provided a series of discourses in order to amplify the peripheral nature of the place of disruptive students within special education provision in England and the United States. It indicated that the disruptive student is doubly

disadvantaged in that this remains a non-formal or non-normative category of student and hence not safeguarded by legislation, particularly in England. Ultimately it suggested that social class issues may play an important part in theorising the position of disruptive student in both countries, in relation to the ability of both parents and student to make explicit their views. The latter provides the focus for Chapter Six, which theorises the concept of a 'student reality'.

Prior to that, however, three issues need to be clarified for the purposes of this thesis. In the first instance, the urban specificity of the general contexts for the disruptive student, noted above, needs to be acknowledged. Secondly, both context and urban specificity will be used in order to establish a set of causal factors. And, finally, context, place and cause will be subsumed in an attempt to establish a definition of the disruptive student which can be used in a comparative case-study. The first of these issues, the urban focus of disruptive students in schools, forms the basis of the next Chapter.

## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO

- (1) Crossley, M. & Vulliamy, G. (1984) 'Case Study Research Methods and Comparative Education', Comparative Education, 20 (2), pp. 193-207.
- (2) Characterised by national reports concerning discipline standards in schools in both England and the United States. In England, one recent example has been the Elton Report (1989), whilst in the United States the 'Nation at Risk' report (1983) focussed in part on the problems of indiscipline in schools. See DES (1989) Discipline in Schools, The Elton Report, London; HMSO, and NCEE (1983) A Nation at Risk : The Imperative for Educational Reform, Washington D.C.; US Government Printing Office.
- (3) Examples of this concern are the surveys commissioned by the teachers' unions in both England and the United States in the period from 1970 onwards. See, for example, National Union of Teachers (NUT) (1975) Discipline in Schools, London; NUT., and the American Association of School Administrators (1981) Reporting Violence and Vandalism and Other Incidents, Arlington; AASA.
- (4) In England, HMI (1987) reported that a majority of schools are 'orderly communities in which there are good standards of behaviour' (Para. 9). See DES (1987) Behaviour and Discipline in Schools, Education Observed 5, London; HMSO. In the United States, a similar argument has been offered in Hyman, I. & D'Alessandro, J. (1984) 'The Reagan Administration's School Discipline Initiative', Phi Delta Kappan, 65, September.
- (5) It will be argued that, in both England and the United States, there was a focus upon groups of students rather than individuals because of the implicit ideology of mass compulsory education as a function of social control in urban areas. Aspects of this are discussed by Coulby, D. & Jones, C. (1992) 'Theoretical approaches to urban education : an international perspective', in Coulby, D., Jones, C. & Harris, D. (1992) Urban Education, London; Kogan Page. pp. 3-11.
- (6) Summarised by Creemers, B., Peters, T. & Reynolds, D. (1989) School effectiveness and school improvement, Amsterdam; Swets & Zeitlinger.
- (7) Frude, N. & Gault, H. (1984) Disruptive Behaviour in School, Chichester; John Wiley.
- (8) op cit. p.10.
- (9) Mitchell & Shepherd (1966) found little overlap between problem students at school and those who caused difficulties at home (England) In the US, a similar situation specificity is illustrated by Hollingsworth, Lufier Jr. and Clune III (1984). See Mitchell, S. & Shepherd, M. (1966). 'A comparative study of children's behaviour at home and at school', British Journal of Educational Psychology, 36, pp. 248-254. and Hollingsworth, E., Lufier Jr., H. & Clune III, W. (1984) School Discipline : Order and Autonomy, New York; Praeger Galloway (1980) also reported large and consistent differences between Sheffield (England) secondary schools in the number of students excluded on disciplinary grounds. See Galloway, D. (1980). 'Exclusions and expulsions from school', Trends in Education, No.2. pp.37-38.
- (10) Pellegrini (1991) summarises this approach in Pellegrini, A. (1991). Applied Child Study : A Developmental Approach, Hillsdale, N.J; Erlbaum, pp.17-36.
- (11) A brief historical survey of the situation in England is included in Furlong (1985), whilst Bybee & Gee (1982) provide a North American outline. See Furlong, V. (1985). The Deviant Pupil, Milton Keynes; Open University Press, pp. 1-27; and Bybee, R. & Gee, E. (1982). Violence, Values and Justice in the Schools, Boston; Allyn & Bacon (pp.37-56).
- (12) Aries, P. (1960). Centuries of Childhood, Harmondsworth; Penguin.
- (13) Furlong (op.cit.) p.2.
- (14) Ashley Cooper, A., The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, (1847). 'The Ragged Schools', Quarterly Review, No.79, pp. 127-41.
- (15) Op.cit. p.127.
- (16) Worsley, H. (1849). Juvenile Depravity, London; Gilpin.
- (17) English Journal of Education, 1850 (4), pp. 5-14, (p.6).
- (18) Furlong, (op.cit.) pp. 1-27.

- (19) Humphries, S. (1981). Hooligans or Rebels ? An Oral History of Working Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939, London; Blackwell.
- (20) Grund, F.(1837). 'The Americans in their moral, social and political relations', (cited in Cremin, L. (1951). The American Common School : An historical Conception, New York; Columbia).
- (21) Ibid. p.133.
- (22) Mann, H. (1843). Seventh Annual Report to the Massachusetts State Board of Education, 1843.
- (23) Ibid. p.84.
- (24) Bybee, R. & Gee, E., (op.cit.).
- (25) Ibid. p.43.
- (26) Humphries (op.cit.), p.16-17.
- (27) Ibid. p.26.
- (28) Hennings, C. (1949). 'Discipline : Are School Practices Changing ?' The Clearing House , XIII, January. pp.267-270.
- (29) N.E.A. (1956). 'Teacher Opinion on Pupil Behavior 1955-56', NEA Research Bulletin, XXXIV, April.
- (30) Lloyd-Smith, M. (Ed.) (1984). Disrupted Schooling, London; John Murray and
- (31) Wolpe (1985) provides one exemplar analysis. Wolpe, A. (1985) 'Schools, Discipline and Social Control' in Barton, L. & Walker, S. (Eds.) (1985). Education and Social Change, Beckenham; Croom-Helm.
- (32) This is discussed in sections ii and iii of the present chapter.
- (33) Aspects of this approach to disability are discussed by Bart (United States) and Quicke (England) in Barton, L. and Tomlinson, S. (1984). Special education and Social Interests, Beckenham; Croom-Helm.
- (34) Case studies provided by Booth and Statham (1982) indicate the emphasis given to the views of teachers and other educational professionals as against those of parents (and students). See Booth, T. and Statham, J. (Eds.) (1982). The Nature of Special Education : People, Places and Change, London; Croom-Helm.
- (35) This concern can be illustrated by reference to reports from teacher unions and professional associations in both countries. In England for example, reports from NUT (1983) and PAT (1985) indicated that major incidents of disruption were becoming more common in schools. In the United States, the NEA polls of 1980, 1982 and 1983 also indicate a growing concern. See National Union of Teachers (1983) Corporal Punishment : the Case for Alternatives, London; NUT., Professional Association of Teachers (1985) Corporal Punishment and Alternative Sanctions, Derby; PAT.
- (36) See, for example, 'American education : TV takes a long look', The Seattle Times / Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 2.9.90.
- (37) Lowenstein, L. (1972). Violence in Schools and its Treatment, Hemel Hempstead; NAS/UWT.
- (38) The survey was based on responses of members. The union in question had shown an interest in the problem of school discipline for a number of years.
- (39) Lowenstein, L. (1975). Violent and Disruptive Behaviour in Schools, Hemel Hempstead; NAS/UWT.
- (40) Cumbria County Council, (1976); Essex County Council, (1980); East Sussex County Council, (1974); Hampshire Education Authority, (1979); Isle of Wight Education Committee, (1979); Liverpool Education Committee, (1974); Staffordshire Education Committee, (1974).
- (41) Birmingham City Council, (1976); ILEA, (1979); Leeds City Council, (1976).
- (42) See Lloyd-Smith, M. (Ed.) (op.cit) and Bailey, T. and Dinham, H. (1987) 'Establishing an on-site unit for secondary pupils who are considered to be disruptive in schools', Support for Learning, 2 (1), pp. 41-46.
- (43) Department of Education and Science. (1975). Survey of Violence, Indiscipline and Vandalism in Schools, London; DES.
- (44) HMI (1979). Aspects of Secondary Education in England : a Survey by H M Inspectors of Schools, London; HMSO. p.57.

- (45) DES (1987) Behaviour and Discipline in Schools : Education Observed 5, London; HMSO. (Para. 9).
- (46) For example, The Times, 17.6.88.
- (47) Committee of Enquiry into Discipline in Schools. March, 1988.
- (48) DES (1989). Discipline in Schools (The Elton Report), London; HMSO.
- (49) Ruddock, J. & Gray, J. (1988) 'Teachers and Discipline', The Elton Report, (op.cit.), pp. 215-292.
- (50) Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, (1976). School Violence and Vandalism : The Nature, Extent and Cost of Violence and Vandalism in Our Nation's Schools, Washington D.C.; US Govt. Printing Office.
- (51) Gallup, G. (1975) 'The Seventh Annual Poll of the Public's Attitude Towards the Public Schools', Phi Delta Kappan, 4 (57), pp.227-241.
- (52) As Rubel (1980) remarked 'By the late 1970's, a number of studies had been conducted carefully to analyze and interpret perceived increases in the nature and extent of school-based violence. These studies began to paint a picture of violence in American schools somewhat different from those presented by earlier journalistic articles'. See Baker, K. & Rubel, R. (1980) Violence and Crime in the Schools, Heath ; Lexington. (p.17).
- (53) National Institute of Education (1978). Violent Schools, Safe Schools, The Safe Schools Study Report to the Congress, Vol.1. Washington D.C.; NIE.
- (54) Wynne, E. & Hess, M. (1986) 'Long-term trends in youth conduct and revival in traditional value patterns', Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 8, pp. 194-268.
- (55) Clark, D. (1986) 'Disruptive Behaviour in Secondary Schools', Educational Psychology in Practice, January, pp. 154-158.
- (56) Ellison, W. (1973) 'School Vandalism : 100 Million Dollar Challenge', Community Education Journal, Vol. 3, pp. 27-33.
- (57) Baker, K. (1985) 'Research Evidence of a School Discipline Problem', Phi Delta Kappan, (66), 7. March. pp. 482-88.
- (58) Ibid. p.487.
- (59) Jones, A. & Kolar, M. (1989). 'Readers Comment on Education', The Education Digest, Vol. LV, No. 1.
- (60) Ibid. pp.40-1.
- (61) There was an almost unanimous view that stricter discipline needed to be enforced.
- (62) Sacken, D. (1989) 'School Disciplinary Processes', Urban Education, (23), 4. pp. 323-47.
- (63) Ibid. p. 325.
- (64) Chase, C. (1982) '10,000 Students View Their High Schools', High School Journal, (66), 1. pp.36-41.
- (65) Ban, J. (1985) 'School Discipline : In Pursuit of a System', High School Journal, (69), 1. pp. 6-11.
- (66) Ibid. p. 6.
- (67) Pollard comments in this respect that 'the ideology of progressivism and 'child centredness'.....with its origins in the Plowden Report of 1967, has influenced the perspectives and commitments of...teachers for many years' (p.105). See Pollard, A. (1992). 'Teachers' Responses to the Reshaping of Primary Education', in Arnot, M. and Barton, L. (Eds.) (1992) Voicing Concerns, Oxford; Triangle.
- (68) This shift is illustrated by Dessent (1988). It marked, he suggested, a move away from the stigmatising labels hitherto used in special education, whereby 'children are viewed as possessing a handicap, a learning difficulty, an emotional disturbance' (p.5). See Dessent, T. (1988). Making Ordinary Schools Special, Lewes; Falmer.
- (69) Allan (1971). Personal communication from a school-leaver.
- (70) This was implied in several passages of the Newsom Report in England, Central Advisory Council for Education (CACE) (1963). Half our Future, (The Newsom Report), London; HMSO. In the United States the issue was somewhat clouded by the tendency of some high school students to 'drop out' : these tended to be students who sometimes behaved disruptively. For a review see Natriello, G. (Ed.) (1986) School Dropouts : Patterns and Policies, New York; Teachers College Press.
- (71) Albeit from a functional, vocationalist viewpoint.

- (72) Developments in England and the United States during this period are reviewed in Creemers, et.al. (op.cit.).
- (73) Murphy, J. and Hallinger, P. (1985). 'Effective high schools - what are the common characteristics?', NASSP Bulletin, 69 (477), pp.18-22.
- (74) These are reviewed in Chapter Six of this study.
- (75) For example, see Floud, J. & Halsey, A. (1956) Social Class and Educational Opportunity, London; Heinemann.
- (76) Wright, N. (1977) Progress in Education, Beckenham; Croom Helm.
- (77) Ibid. p. 106.
- (78) Thus in 1980, Atkinson and Delamont report that 'There is a vigorous and possibly growing research in the 'ethnography' of schooling'. See Atkinson, P. and Delamont, S. (1980). 'The Two Traditions in Educational Ethnography : sociology and anthropology compared', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 1 (2), pp. 139-151. (p.139)
- (79) Which became increasingly important in educational research in both England and the United States during the 1980's. Thus Atkinson and Delamont comment that 'Ethnographic methods have mushroomed in both British and American research on education in the last decade', in Atkinson, P. and Delamont, P. (1990). 'Writing About Teachers : How British and American Ethnographic Texts Describe Teachers and Teaching', Teaching and Teacher Education, 6 (2), pp.111-125. (p.111).
- (80) Hammersley, M. (1984). The Ethnography of Schooling : Methodological Issues, Driffield; Nafferton Books.
- (81) Le Compte, M. and Goertz, J. (1982). 'Ethnographic data collection in evaluation research', Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, Number 4. pp.387-400.
- (82) In particular, the concept of 'normality'. Thus Tomlinson argues that, whilst there is some degree of agreement concerning those categories of special educational need which may be clinically defined (as in the cases of students with hearing, speech or sight impairment), 'the categories of....maladjusted and disruptive are not, and never will be, normative categories'. see Tomlinson, S. (1982). A Sociology of Special Education, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul. (p. 65). Moreover, Humphries (op.cit.), for example, summarises this concern and provided further theoretical evidence that mass education was conceived as a means of controlling the working class. It was 'potentially the most powerful instrument to inculcate in successive generations of working class children, values and attitudes that were thought necessary for the reproduction and reinvigoration of an industrial capitalist society'. (p.31).
- (83) For a brief general review of the 'progressive' movement in education see Tapper, T. and Salter, S. (1978). Education and the Political Order, London; Macmillan. More specifically, the shift is charted by Sarup, who refers to the 'assault' on progressive education in terms of the perceived need by the State to enforce stricter discipline on school pupils during this period (p.14). See Sarup, M. (1982). Education, State and Crisis, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul. The implication was that there had been a shift in thinking, and that this was seen as a threat to previously dominant, and accepted, ideologies.
- (84) Here used to exemplify the then popular interest in 'open' education systems in England and US. The work of Maslow and Rogers is also indicative of this trend. Maslow, A. (1954). Motivation and Personality, New York; Harper & Row. and Rogers, C. (1983) Freedom to Learn, Columbus; Merrill. Some of this was formalised in the United States by the establishment of The National Coalition for Democracy in Education in 1969. Lipset (1971) locates such demands partly in universities as protests against US involvement in Vietnam. Pucinski (1970) extended this to suggest that thousands of pupil protests occurred in the US. during this time. In England, Adams (1991) charts the 'rebirth of rebellion in 1968' and a series of pupil-protests that formed part of it (p.50). See (i) Lipset, S. (1971). Rebellion in the University : A History of Student Activism in America, Boston; Little, Brown & Company Ltd. (ii) Pucinski, R. (1970). 'Results of Survey on Student Unrest in the Nation's Schools', Congressional Record, 23 February, pp.4446-8. (iii) Adams, R. (1991). Protests by Pupils : Empowerment, Schooling and the State, Basingstoke; Falmer. In Education the conflict, in England and US, between 'the new right' and so-called progressive education may be exemplified by Green, M.

- (1977). 'The matter of mystification : teacher education in unquiet times', in Gleeson, D. (1977). Identity and Structure : Issues in the Sociology of Education, Driffield; Nafferton Books. pp.28-43.
- (85) Sapon-Shevin, M. (1990). 'Special Education and the Holmes Agenda for Teacher Education Reform', Theory into Practice, XXXIX (1), Winter.
- (86) Ibid. p.55.
- (87) Ibid. p.56.
- (88) A concern illustrated by Boyer, L. (1983). High School : A Report on Secondary Education in America, New York; Harper & Row. pp.66-67; and by Cathcart, H. & Esland, G. (1985) 'The Compliant-Creative Worker : The Ideological Reconstruction of the School Leaver', in Barton, L. & Walker, S. (1985). Education and Social Change, Beckenham; Croom Helm.
- (89) Changes in economic conditions often underpin shifts in educational policy. commenting on this, Cathcart & Esland state that the political Right has continued to promulgate the myth that young people are responsible for their own unemployment, so that ultimately 'the main burden of responsibility for industrial decline in the past and economic regeneration in the future is laid on institutions of education and training': Cathcart and Esland (op.cit.) (p.178).
- (90) In England this can in part be seen by the influence, in the 1980's, the Manpower Services Commission on education : this is discussed by Moore, R.(1988). 'The Correspondence Principle and the Marxist Sociology of Education', in Cole, M. (1988) (Ed) Bowles & Gintis Revisited, Lewes; Falmer. A similar influence in the United States can be noted during the same period.
- (91) An apparent increase in disruptive behaviour in schools in England and the US is frequently claimed to be indicative of an erosion of traditional standards. Sacken (1989) gives one example : 'The Reagan administration has been strongly supportive of a description of schools as disrupted, often violent environments....a National School Safety Center at Pepperdine University distributes both horatory literature, urging stringency in discipline, and alternatively sorrowful and angry reflection on the causes of institutional and societal disintegration'. See Sacken, D.(1989). 'School Disciplinary Processes', Urban Education, 23 (4), January. p.325.
- (92) Aspects of this are reviewed by Coulby in England and Apple in the United States. See Coulby, D. 'The National Curriculum', in Bash, L. and Coulby, D. (1989). The Education Reform Act, London; Cassell, and Apple, M. 'Curriculum Conflict in the United States', in Hartnett, A. and Naish, M. (1986). Education and Society Today, Lewes; Falmer.
- (93) Bash (1989) provides an English analysis in Bash, L. and Coulby, D. (op.cit.). In the United States, the question of competition was addressed by the report of the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy (1986). A Nation Prepared : teachers for the 21st Century Princeton, NJ; Carnegie Foundation.
- (94) Two key texts in this respect are Willis, P. (1977) Learning to Labour, Farnborough; Saxon House, and Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1976). Schooling in Captialist America, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (95) Chitty, C. (1989). Towards a New Education System : The Victory of the New Right?, Lewes; Falmer. provides one example.
- (96) This is reviewed in detail in Chapter Six of this study.
- (97) Fulcher, G. (1989). Disabling Policies? Lewes; Falmer. pp.27-31.
- (98) Ibid. p.27.
- (99) Tomlinson, S. (1982) A Sociology of Special Education, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul overviews this theme (pp.10-12). More specifically in England, Mongon, D. and Hart, S. (with Ace, C. and Rawlings, A.) (1989) in Improving Classroom Behaviour : New Directions for Teachers and Pupils, London; Cassell (p.46), draw attention to this theme. In the United States., Borsay discusses medicalisation within special education at length in Borsay, A. (1986) 'Personal Trouble or Public Issue ? Towards a policy for people with physical or mental disabilities', Disability, Handicap and Society, 1 (2), pp. 179-195.
- (100) Fulcher (op.cit.) p. 28-9.

- (101) In England, the involvement of voluntary agencies in special education is illustrated by Tomlinson (op.cit.) pp.35-45.
- (102) Carrier, J. (1984). 'Comparative Special Education : Ideology, Differentiation and Allocation in England and the United States', in Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (1984) Special Education and Social Interests, London; Croom Helm. pp. 35-64.
- (103) Fulcher (op.cit.) p.29-30.
- (104) Galloway, D. & Goodwin, C. (1987). The Education of Disturbing Children ; Pupils with learning and adjustment difficulties, New York; Longman. p.130
- (105) Hahn, H. (1986) 'Public Support for Rehabilitation Programs : the analysis of US disability policy', Disability, Handicap and Society, 1 (2), pp. 121-37.
- (106) Fulcher (op.cit.) p.30-1.
- (107) May & Hughes illustrate an American example in May, D. & Hughes, D. (1987) 'Organizing Services for People with Mental Handicap : the Californian Experience', Disability, Handicap and Society, 2 (3), pp. 213-30.
- (108) Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (1984). 'The Politics of Integration in England', in Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (1984), (op.cit.).
- (109) Hahn, (op.cit.)
- (110) Abberley, P. (1987) 'The Concept of Oppression and the Development of a Social Theory of Disability', Disability, Handicap and Society, 2 (1), pp.5-20.
- (111) Education Act (1981). London; HMSO.
- (112) Education for All Handicapped Children Act (1975) Public Law 94-142.
- (113) see Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (1984). (op.cit.).
- (114) In England, Ford, Mongon & Whelan discuss the nature of this further marginalisation in Ford, J., Mongon, D. & Whelan, M. (1982). Special Education and Social Control, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul. Clarizio deals with the same issue in the United States : see Clarizio, H. (1987) 'Differentiating Emotionally Impaired from Socially Maladjusted Students', Psychology in the Schools, 24, July. pp.237-43.5
- (115) Mehan et.al.(1981) affirm that this medical model is underpinned by a theme of professionalism, and that the language of persuasion, used by professionals negotiating with working-class parents, is instanced by the phrase 'in the best interests of...'. See Mehan, H., Meihls, J., Hertweck, A. & Crowdes, M. (1981). 'Identifying handicapped students', in Bacharach, S. (1981). Organization Behavior in Schools and School Districts, New York; Praeger. pp.381-422.
- (116) Whose role is central in the functioning of special education legislation in England and the United States : they are centrally involved in the ascertainment (or not) of students to categories of special education. Quicke (1984) provides an English focus for the debate in Quicke, J. (1984). 'The Role of the Educational Psychologist in the Post-Warnock Era', in Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (1984) (op.cit.).
- (117) Higgins, in Varma, V. (Ed) (1990). The Management of Children with Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties, London; Routledge, comments that 'EBD or maladjusted behaviour lies at the more undesirable end of the deviant scale'. (p.3).
- (118) Tomlinson, (op.cit.).
- (119) Ibid. p.52.
- (120) Ibid. p.99-101.
- (121) Ingleby, D. (1976). 'The psychology of child psychology', in Dale, R. et.al.(1981). Politics, Patriarchy and Practice, Lewes; Falmer. p.155
- (122) As in England, the educational psychologist is an influential member of the multidisciplinary team.
- (123) Wood, H. Smith, R. & Grimes, J. (1985). The Iowa Assessment Model in Behaviour Disorders : A Training Manual, Des Moines; State of Iowa. p.5.
- (124) Ibid. p.7.
- (125) Tomlinson, S. (1982). (op.cit.) describes the historical development of this view. pp.13-16.
- (126) Hahn, H. (1986), op.cit.
- (127) Meares, L. (1986). 'What progress for disabled people ?', ASW Impact, December, pp.6-8.
- (128) Illustrated by Bash et.al. (op.cit.), p.109.



- (129) Kauffman provides an overview of historical provision in the United States to illustrate this point : Kauffman, J. (1985). 'Educating Children with Behavior Disorders', Special Education, pp. 249-69.
- (130) Education Year Book, (1990). London; Longman.
- (131) Ibid. pp.701-716.
- (132) 'Like the position of the child, and the position of the patient, (the pupil's role) lacks status; it commands little respect.....the role of the child is defined by the adult, the role of the patient by the doctor or nurse, and the role of the pupil by the teacher', Calvert, B. (1975). The Role of the Pupil, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- (133) In both English and US legislative practices, the student makes no formal input to the ascertainment procedure after the in-school mechanisms for identification and provision have been exhausted.
- (134) Tomlinson, S. (1982). (op.cit.) p.69.
- (135) Essen, J. and Wedge, P. (1982) Continuities in Childhood Disadvantage, London; Heinemann.
- (136) Ibid. p.139.
- (137) Tomlinson, S.(1982) (op.cit.), 'provision developed to cater for the needs of ordinary schools, the interests of the wider industrial society and the specific interests of professionals', (p.57). Whilst referring directly to England, this observation also has relevance to the U.S. Thus Bart (op.cit.) maintains that 'advances in the treatment of special children - from their inhumane and brutal handling in the custodial institutions of the nineteenth century to their more enlightened care today - have always been informed by societal need', (p.82).
- (138) Kirp, D. (1977). 'Law, politics and equal educational opportunity : the limits of judicial involvement', Harvard Educational Review, 47, pp. 117-137.
- (139) Mehan, H., et.al. (1981). (op.cit.).
- (140) Ibid. p.388.

## CHAPTER THREE : DEVELOPING AN URBAN FOCUS

Children thus brought up in ignorance and amidst the contagion of bad example, are in imminent danger of ruin; and too many of them, it is to be feared, instead of becoming useful members of the community will become the burden and pests of society. Early instruction and fixed habits of industry, decency, and order are the surest safeguards of virtuous conduct. (1)

### Introduction

This Chapter provides evidence that, in locational terms, disruptive students tend to be concentrated in urban, rather than rural, school environments in both England and the United States. The purpose of the Chapter is threefold. It firstly demonstrates that in both countries there is a historical tradition of considering the phenomenon of problem behaviour in schools in an urban context. Secondly the Chapter emphasises a more recent urban focus for the problem and, finally, that the education systems of both countries have responded, often unsuccessfully, at a national and regional level to issues concerned with the concentration of disruptive students in urban places. In sum, the Chapter shows the importance of the link between the urban specificity of disruptive students and the ecosystemic nature of causal factors which, it is argued in Chapter Four of this study, may be responsible for the existence of such students.

In the first instance, a review of existing literature will show that the phenomenon of problem behaviour in schools has, historically, been largely perceived as an urban one in both England and the United States. This is followed by an overview of the more recent urban scenario of disruptive behaviour by students in schools, again by reference to the literature. Finally, the Chapter will illustrate that educational provision for disruptive students in both countries has been mainly located in urban areas, and that this has been affected by the way in which national and regional legislation has frequently failed to resolve the terminological confusions that surround the term 'disruptive student'. The resulting disenfranchisement of such students can be particularly well illustrated by reference to urban education systems.

## **i. Historical Evidence from the Literature**

The concentration, in urban schools, of students who are the cause of problems because of supposed disruptive behaviour (and who acquire, because of this, a label of one sort or another which ties them to those behaviours) has long been regarded as a feature of urban educational systems of England and the United States (2).

There are many indications from existing research that disruptive students are acknowledged to be concentrated in urban, or at least sub-urban, regions in both England and United States (3). The urban theme has, therefore, recurred in the literature originating from both countries (4). However, this may be saying very little, as a substantial majority of schools in both countries are situated in urban areas. It would therefore appear axiomatic that the disruptive student is to be most commonly found within the classrooms and schools of the urban regions of England and the United States (5).

In the United States, Swift (6) pointed out that as far back as 1837 records show that 10 per cent of Massachusetts' schools were broken up by rebellious students. In 1899, the Harpur Report (7) advised Chicago administrators that antisocial behaviour by 'difficult' students in schools could have serious consequences for the city :

There are also a large number of children who are constantly dropping out of our schools because of insubordination and want of cooperation between the parents and the teachers and they are becoming vagrants upon the streets and a menace to good society. The welfare of the city demands that these children be put under restraint. (8)

Later, Hanus (9) recorded

.....the danger of allowing such children to grow up at large is a grave one. Such persons not only become a burden to society themselves, but propagate their kind in large numbers..... whatever it costs the city cannot safely run the risk of mental defectives to continue unchecked. (10)

Subsequently, Haggerty (11) reported that teachers in one urban school district in the United States recorded 'undesirable behaviour' in over 50 per cent of their students (12).

In England there is a similar general acknowledgement, historically, that urban schools are the usual context for 'problem behaviour' (13). Examples of this urban focus are plentiful. Henry Worsley, in 1849, suggested that the 'mass of vice and crime, now deluging our land' was concentrated in the towns and cities, and that education in schools was possibly an effective way of policing juveniles (14).

The Ragged Schools of England were concentrated in urban areas during the early nineteenth century (15). Their role was focussed upon the 'depraved and vicious' poor in the inner cities. The English Journal of Education (16) records the views of one teacher in such a school, and offers a graphic illustration of the level of pupil disruption and hostility to authority :

I had occasion to punish a boy slightly this morning; he swore and blasphemed most horribly and rushed from the school. I took little notice of this display and sat down calmly to hear the class with which I was engaged... I was suddenly startled by a large stone passing my ear....I got out of reach of the stones thrown into the window and continued the lesson. Several followed, half a dozen at least. He was ready in the court with a brick in his hand to have his revenge when I came out. With some difficulty I got out into the lane without being obliged to run.....I considered it best to call at the police station to ask for a convoy. This was readily granted. (17)

There are clear early indications, therefore, in the existing literature that problem behaviours, in the broadest sense of the term, tend to be located in urban, rather than rural, schools. Whilst this assertion in no way suggests that such behaviours are not present in rural areas (18), there appears to be considerable historical evidence to locate disruptive behaviours by students mainly in the schools of the large towns and cities of England and United States.

This early documentation of problem behaviour in urban schools in England and the United States is important for a number of reasons. In the first place it indicates that urban education has traditionally been conceptualised in terms of deficit. Ruffin, for example, notes that

we must recognise the current obstacles urban educators and students face in many schools - drugs, violence, outdated equipment, apathy, low expectations by educators and students, classicism and racism. (19)

Such an interpretation, with its use of powerful, emotive language, has become familiar to many teachers and administrators working in urban schools in England and United States.

At the same time, Tyack noted that

an analysis of urban schools can offer a way to ask questions about the whole society, whilst retaining a particular institutional focus (20),

thereby highlighting an important link between micro- (urban) and macro- (regional and national) interpretations of the phenomenon. This issue will be examined in the third section of this Chapter.

Finally, it should be noted that, as economic and social conditions in urban areas have long been the focus for inquiry by researchers in the social sciences, the resultant body of literature, which links disadvantage in urban places to problem behaviour by students in schools, may also be used to support the view that problem behaviour has, historically, been an educational theme in such areas in both England and the United States (21).

## **ii. Recent Evidence from England and the United States**

When the focus is narrowed to issues specifically concerning the informal categorisation 'disruptive student' or 'disruptive behaviour', the phenomenon can be further articulated, clarified and established as a more recent term which has particular relevance to the urban education systems in England and the United States.

In the United States, a National Education Association (NEA) survey in 1956 indicated that problems of violence, indiscipline and disruptive behaviour were often greater in schools in the slums of urban areas (22). Perkinson (23) summarised a dominant North American view :

The city child, especially the child of the newcomers, had generated both compassion and fear. He was unkempt, uncared for and untutored. He was in need of help. But he was also a threat. (24)

Marotto's research in an urban high school suggested that certain social, cultural and ideological influences were at work in the urban school (25). He showed that some black working-class adolescents preferred peer involvement to academic work. The 'Boulevard Brothers' in Marotto's work mirror the activities of 'the lads' in Willis's English study (26). In both cases the authors recognised 'disruptive behaviour' as a key aspect of student responses to their marginalised position within an urban educational setting (27).

Several other North American examples can be drawn from the literature to provide further evidence of the urban nature of disruptive behaviour. Payne (28) observed a 'lack of discipline' in a Chicago high school, whilst Bach (29) had suggested that disruptive students had lower IQ scores, come from large families and from minority groups.

Bach's overview provides some clues to understanding the urban context of the disruptive student, and it also enables the comparative researcher to draw a set of contextual parallels of the phenomenon between United States and England. In the latter there are indications from the literature reviewed that the concept of the disruptive student is closely linked with nature of urban classrooms and schools, as illustrated by the previous examples in the United States (30).

A similar position appeared to obtain in England. Highfield & Pinsent (31), in a large-scale survey, indicated that disruptive behaviour was more likely to occur in town schools rather than country schools (32). Subsequently the Newsom Report (33) proposed that problems of indiscipline in schools were largely concentrated in 'problem areas'. These, according to the Report, were

areas of bad housing with a high concentration of  
social problems, (34)

the inference being that such situations would inevitably be urban in character.

Both the Highfield & Pinsent research and the Newsom Report in England can possibly be viewed as an English equivalent to Bach's study in the United States. Both draw upon certain important causal explanations for the urban concentration of disruptive students. These were regarded as being a continuum of disadvantaging conditions within the psychological, social and cultural backgrounds of the students themselves. Whilst such an analysis points to the ecosystemic nature of causes for such behaviour, it also confirms the view that the dominant interpretation was again one of a deficit view of 'lower-class' urban cultures, rather than an inability of urban school systems to respond effectively to students whose disruptive behaviour was regarded as non-normative (35).

At this point it should be noted that the view that disruptive behaviour by students is located in urban schools appears to be contradicted by a number of more recent research findings. In the United States, for example, Hollingsworth, Lufner & Clune (36) compared one urban school with a rural school. The authors were subsequently able to remark that

The rustic haven of the rural school free from problems, then, exists in the imagination or an earlier era. Informal systems or community standards do not operate to prevent misbehavior and make punishment unnecessary. Rural place, like Middle City, had a full armature of rules and consequences, problems between staff and administration about expectations, and sizable numbers of students refusing to acknowledge the lines drawn by adults. (37)

But these research findings are not as contradictory as would first appear. In the first instance, the authors state elsewhere that 'more serious' problems did occur in the city

school (38). It should also be noted that, whilst teachers and students in the rural school reported 'more everyday rudeness and upset', it may possibly be that the behavioural threshold had been significantly lowered in that school.

Most recently, however, in 1989, the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) reaffirmed the belief that disruptive behaviour by students was more prevalent in urban locations in the United States (39). They stated that urban schools could be improved by recognising

the current obstacles urban educators and students face in many schools - drugs, violence, outdated equipment, apathy, low expectations by educators and students, classism, racism and communities that do not seem to care. (40)

Two linking themes, therefore, in explaining the urban concentration of disruptive students in England and the United States, have been the notions of a deficit view of the disruptive student population and the disadvantaged situation that frequently forms the home background of such students. The two have been closely associated in explaining disruptive behaviour by theorists and teachers (41). Certainly there is ample evidence of such a linkage in the literature. Castle (42), for example, pointed out that

In urban situations where social stability and tradition are weakest....where slum conditions provide no stable basis for home discipline, where classes are larger and buildings inadequate, the teacher experiences the greatest strain and is inclined to resort to severe forms of punishment in self-defence. (43)

As a result of such conditions, many of those working within education systems have tended to see the disruptive student as one who is created by a set of circumstances which find their most explicit form in the urban landscape (44). Schostak (45), for example, refers to the urban focus of 'deviance, social control and individuality' and that the high school used in his study is

typical of the social and historical process which has produced other slump towns throughout Great Britain. (46)

In United States, a similar set of underlying explanations has existed which sought to place 'blame' on the student and his social setting, rather than to establish an interpretation which relates more closely to the disruptive student's response to the education system *per se*. The implication of the latter is that such systems may be implicated in the 'creation' of a student who is disruptive. For example, a National Educational Association survey of 1956 in the United States indicated that problems of violence and indiscipline in schools were greater in the disadvantaged inner-urban areas (47). At a later date, Corcoran, Walker and White (48)

report that the dominant issue for teachers in urban schools is student discipline. In their survey of 31 urban schools it was reported to be a 'serious problem' in 24 cases.

Sigmon (49) summarises the urban concentration of disruptive behaviour in the United States, suggesting that

There are far more students classified emotionally disturbed (ED) and socially maladjusted (SM) in poor areas, especially in the cities than there are in the more comfortable suburban or semi-rural areas. (50)

He argues that such conditions may result in a 'cultural relativity phenomenon', which is inherent in special education labelling, particularly in the case of disruptive students. In this, he suggests that disruptive students may encounter problems of psychological adjustment, and are therefore 'punished twice - both in the neighbourhood....and at school' (51). Urban disadvantage and disruptive behaviour are, he supposes, inextricably linked.

The urban concentration of a range of contributory social problems, which are often associated with disruptive behaviour in schools, is frequently referred to in other recent literature from the United States (52). Again, this is reflected in research findings in England (53). In sum, therefore, it is important to acknowledge that in both countries there has developed a tradition of providing a rationale for the behaviour of the disruptive student in terms of factors which occur outside of schools and which relate to the personal and cultural urban-heritage of the student (54).

### **iii. National Responses to Disruptive Students in Urban Schools**

The deficit interpretation of disruptive students and their behaviours, by administrators, legislators and teachers, is one important factor influencing the structural responses of the education systems of both countries to the problems posed by such students. Schools have not, until recently, been considered to play a central role in the creation of disruptive students (55). As a result, the tendency has been for English and North American education systems to respond to the problem of student disruption in mainstream schools by providing alternative forms of provision (56).

Such alternative arrangements are characterised either by separate provision, as in the case of the 'off-site' units of England and the 'off-campus' facilities provided by some United States' School Boards (57), or by provision which is nominally within mainstream schools, but which provides different curricular initiatives and social relationships between



teachers and students than those which are perceived to exist within 'ordinary' mainstream arrangements. The location of such facilities has been almost exclusively within the urban areas of England and the United States (58).

Equally important, for the purposes of this discussion, and for the subsequent research focus of this thesis, is that the deficit interpretation of the role of disruptive students in urban school systems has resulted in little emphasis being placed on the students' views (59). This is apparent in both England and the United States, at national, regional and local level and this has meant that little use has been made of the viewpoints expressed by the students in formulating policies to deal with the difficulties that such behaviours cause in schools.

On the contrary, it may be correct to observe that, although there has been a developing research and literature on interactionist approaches in both England and the United States (60), most of the research evidence which has resulted in policy decisions relating to disruptive students in urban schools has tended to come from quantitative studies. These have often ignored the opinions of disruptive students. Both England (61) and the United States (62) provide frequent examples of this.

Partly as a result of this omission, there appears to be an assumption that the disruptive students in urban schools of both countries hold oppositional views to those of their teachers. Rothstein (63), for example, provides a useful summary of the way in which the tensions between disruptive students and teachers in urban areas are often a result of differential goals and outlooks. He observed that

No-one who studies the adults and youngsters in urban schools can fail to notice the important role that anxiety plays in schooling, in relations between adults and children. The anxieties are associated with .....the behaviour norms that delimit the number and types of preferred response, often leaving youngsters in a confused and agitated condition. (64)

Within this overview of the urban context for disruptive students, with its attendant deficit underpinnings, it is also important to take account of the legislative changes, and the resulting ideological debate, that have taken place in special education provision in England and the United States since the 1970's (65). In both countries, issues of assessment and integration are crucially important, as they not only help to categorise a specific and, mainly urban, school population as disruptive, but they also determine the type and quality of provision made available (66). It is in the urban education systems of England and the United States that both issues are brought into sharp focus (67).

As a result of two corresponding pieces of special education legislation, (the Education Act of 1981 in England and Public Law 94-142 (1976) in the United States), considerable discussion has taken place in both countries on the questions of integration (or 'mainstreaming') and assessment of students who are referred to as having special educational needs (68). An increasing number of school-students amongst this population are regarded as disruptive and are to be found in schools in urban areas. This raises a number of important issues relating to urban schools and the position of disruptive students within them.

In the first place, many of the students who are subsequently referred and dealt with as 'disruptive' have not been formally categorised according to the schedules indicated by the two legislative processes. Public Law 94-142 in the United States, for example, excludes from consideration those students who are termed 'maladjusted' (69). Whilst this may be a positive response to the often subjective nature of the category, it does at the same time mean that many students will not be protected by Federal legislative procedure. As a result they may be assigned to alternative, possibly second-rate, education without consultation and be referred to as disruptive students. Subsequently they may be denied access to 'due process' (70). Such students have more recently been referred to as being 'at risk' in the United States, and Corcoran, Walker and White (71) confirm the urban location of such populations.

Similarly in England, Mortimore & Blackstone (72) referred to the persistent negative relationship between social disadvantage and educational attainment and relate this to geographical (urban) location (73). The Education Act of 1981 in England did little to protect the interests of informally ascribed disruptive student, who were frequently underachieving in academic terms (74), so that the majority of such students did not hold a statement of special educational need (75). These are educated almost exclusively in urban settings (76).

Finally, recent legislative provision in special education in England and the United States has resulted in considerable debate concerning the integration (or 'mainstreaming') of students with special educational needs. In both countries there is evidence in the literature to suggest that teachers are less happy about integrating a student who has a non-clinical special need (for example, disruptive behaviour) into their class than they are a student who has a clinical or physical special need (for example, hearing impairment) (77). One result of this has been that in the urban areas of both countries there has been a growth in alternative provision for disruptive students during the period 1970 to 1980 (78). On the other hand, an equally important development has been the integrationist stance of many English Local

Education Authorities (LEA's) and of School Boards in the United States. This has resulted in more disruptive students being contained within mainstream schools (79).

These debates have taken place in both countries in a mainly urban context, where education and welfare systems have become increasingly unable to cope with large numbers of disruptive students, who either drop-out of full-time schooling, are 'pushed out' (80) or remain in school, but become problems for the teachers and administrators within them.

## **Conclusion**

This Chapter has argued that the loose term 'disruptive student' may be related to specific spatial settings. These are primarily urban locations in both England and the United States. The policy of urban education systems in approaching the phenomenon of the disruptive student is informed, in part, by socio-economic and political themes operating on a national level and which, by virtue of their medical and professional discourses, support the ideological status quo (81).

At the same time the economic and social burden upon urban institutions to meet the welfare and educational needs of marginalised populations has resulted in a range of responses, by schools and the teachers in them, to the perceived needs of the informally categorised disruptive student. Such responses, frequently undertaken without student consultation, may partly contribute to further alienation, resulting in continued disruptive behaviour by the student.

It is finally appropriate to note that the concept of deficit, to which this Chapter has frequently referred in its urban context, has important implications for a comparative study of the views of disruptive students. Deficit, as summarised by Ford, Mongon and Whelan (84), develops from ideologies of dominance. Simply put, urban deficit interpretations of disruptive students allow little place for a consideration views of the students themselves. Such a position, it will subsequently be demonstrated, obtains in both England and the United States.

The following Chapter will develop the contextual themes outlined in Chapters Two and Three in considering a range of possible causes for the existence of disruptive students in schools.

## NOTES : CHAPTER THREE

- (1) Bourne, W. (1870). History of the Public School Society of the City of New York. New York; City of New York.
- (2) Ruffin, S. (1989). 'Improving Urban Communities and their Schools : a National Emergency'. NASSP Bulletin, May. pp.61-70. The author states that 'Recent national reports provide us with a list of problems, challenges and frustrations that exist in a large number of the nation's urban school districts', (p.61). This observation has parallels with Grace's commentary upon the English urban context. See Grace, G. (1978). 'Pupils, localities and the experience of teaching', in Grace, G. (Ed.) (1978). Teachers, Ideology and Control : Studies in Urban Education, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- (3) Grace (1984) assumes the development of 'urban studies' in the context of 'problems' (which may include the disruptive student in schools). Grace, G. (Ed.) (1984). Education and the City, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul, p.6.
- (4) Thus supporting the locational definition, proposed in Chapter Four.
- (5) Adams, R. (1991). Protests by Pupils : Empowerment, Schooling and the State, Basingstoke; Falmer. This contains a calendar of student protests (p.217-220) and illustrates the urban location of the phenomenon in England. For the United States, see Silberman, C. (1971). Crisis in the Classroom : The Remaking of America, New York; Vintage Books. He states that 'in a good many placid cities, towns and suburbs, seemingly sheltered, however temporarily, from racial conflict, schools have been closed by taxpayer revolts, teacher strikes, or student dissent', (p.13).
- (6) Swift, H. (1971). Ideology and Change in the Public Schools, Columbus; Merrill.
- (7) Harpur, W. (1899). The Report of the Educational Commission of the City of Chicago, Chicago; Lakeside Press.
- (8) Ibid. p.163.
- (9) Hanus, P. (1913) School Efficiency : a constructive study applied to New York City Yonkers; World Books.
- (10) Ibid. pp. 20-1.
- (11) Haggerty, M. (1925) 'The incidence of undesirable behaviour in public- school children' Journal of Educational Research, 12, pp.102-22.
- (12) Ibid. p.103.
- (13) The Wood Committee on mental handicap (1929) for example contained a number of references to the spatial location of 'social problem classes' in towns and cities. Report of the Mental Deficiency Committee (1929). Board of Education and Board of Control, London; HMSO. (p.80).
- (14) Worsley, H. (1849) Juvenile Depravity, London; Gilpin. (p.247).
- (15) Smith, F. (1923). The Life and Times of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth London; John Murray.
- (16) English Journal of Education (1850). Vol.4.
- (17) Ibid. (p.6).
- (18) Several authors recognise this. In England, Higdon (1984) describes the Burston school strike, whilst Hollingsworth, Lufler Jr. and Clune III (1984) provide evidence to suggest that misbehaviour was as common place in 'Rural Place' as it was in 'Middle City', (p.50). See Higdon, T. (1984) The Burston Rebellion, Eye; Suffolk Eye Press and Hollingsworth, E., Lufler Jr., H. and Clune III, W. (1984). School Discipline, New York; Praeger.
- (19) Ruffin, S. (1989) (op.cit.), p. 61.
- (20) Tyack, D. (1974) The One Best System : A History of American Urban Education, Cambridge; Harvard University Press. (p. 9).
- (21) Woock (1992) has commented in this respect that 'The current scene must be placed against deteriorating resources for urban schools and an array of urban social problems, most particularly racism and violence, which have both increased and become more widely visible over the past 20 years'. See Woock, R. (1992) 'Urban education in the United

- States of America', in Coulby, D., Jones, C. and Harris, D. (Eds.) Urban Education World Yearbook of Education, 1991, London; Kogan Page. (p. 97).
- (22) NEA. (1956). 'Teacher Opinion on Pupil Behavior 1955-56', NEA Research Bulletin, XXXIV, April.
- (23) Parkinson, in NEA (1956). (op.cit.).
- (24) Ibid.
- (25) Marotto, R. (1978) 'Posin To Be Chosen : An Ethnographic Study of Ten Lower Class Black Male Adolescents in an Urban High school', Ed.D. Dissertation, University of New York, Buffalo.
- (26) Willis, P. (1977). Learning to Labour, Farnborough; Saxon House.
- (27) In this respect, both 'the lads' and 'the Boulevard Brothers' are representative of the traditional view of the oppositional stance of disruptive students.
- (28) Payne, R. (1979). 'Who Runs This Chicago High School', Integrated Education, 17 (1), January-April, pp.9-14.
- (29) Bach, N. (1978). 'Selected Problems of Student Disruptive Behavior' in the State of Wisconsin', Journal of International Association of Pupil Personnel Workers, 22 (3), June. pp.161-71.
- (30) This is suggested in Poppleton P., Deas, R., Pullin, R. and Thompson, D. (1987). 'The Experience of Teaching in 'Disadvantaged' Areas in the United Kingdom and the USA', Comparative Education, 23 (3), pp.303-15.
- (31) Highfield, M. & Pinsent, A. (1952). A Survey of Rewards and Punishments in School, London; Newnes Educational Publishing.
- (32) Ibid. Nine county and borough divisions were surveyed, 44,490 students in all.
- (33) Newsom, J. (1963). Half Our Future (The Newsom Report). London; HMSO.
- (34) Ibid. p.186.
- (35) Recent studies on 'school effect' have indicated that such determinist interpretations are not wholly applicable. This is discussed in Chapter Six, section iii.
- (36) Hollingsworth et.al. (1984). (op.cit.).
- (37) Ibid. pp.50-1.
- (38) Teachers in Rural School reported, for example, fewer instances of carrying weapons, gambling, vandalism or physical attacks on teachers. Ibid. p.50.
- (39) Ruffin Jr., S. (1989). (op.cit.).
- (40) Ibid. p.61.
- (41) Chapter Three of The Newsom Report (op.cit.) was entitled 'Education in the Slums'. Robinson (1977) discusses the deficit implications of this in Robinson, P. (1977) "Poverty and education : a pragmatic circle" in Gleeson, D. (1977) Identity and Structure Driffield; Nafferton Books pp.153-64
- (42) Castle, E. (1958). Moral Education in Christian Times, London; Allen & Unwin.
- (43) Ibid. p. 368.
- (44) As in Tomlinson's (1982) assertion that 'larger numbers of mainly working class and black children will be segregated in special units or classes' (p.177). Axiomatically, in England, black and working class children are educated in urban settings. In the United States, Fine (1986) investigated the a similar issue, commenting that 'These adolescents leave school because they live surrounded by unemployment and poverty, have experienced failure in school and have been held back at least once, feel terrible about themselves and see little hope', (p.397). See Tomlinson, S. (1982) A Sociology of Special Education, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul., and See Fine, M. (1986). 'Why Urban Adolescents Drop into and Out of Public High School', Teachers' College Record, 87 (3), pp. 393-409.
- (45) Schostak, J. (1983). Maladjusted Schooling, Lewes; Falmer.
- (46) Ibid. p.5
- (47) NEA. (1956). (op.cit.).
- (48) Corcoran, T., Walker, L. and White, J. (1988) Working in Urban Schools, Washington D.C; I.E.L.
- (49) Sigmon, S. (1987). Radical Analysis of Special Education, Lewes; Falmer.
- (50) Ibid. p.68.
- (51) Ibid. p.68. Sigmon states that 'the suburban child labeled ED often has a more mild condition than the poor urban ED youngster'.

- (52) For example, Presseisen, B.(1985). Unlearned Lessons, Lewes; Falmer. p.135
- (53) For example, Essen, J. and Wedge, P. (op.cit.).
- (54) In England, the teacher unions have tended to regard indiscipline in schools as the responsibility of parents and society. See, for example, NAS/UWT, (1981). Discipline or Disorder in Schools : a Disturbing Choice, Birmingham; NAS/UWT. In the United States, a similar view is represented in opinion polls taken amongst teachers. See National Education Association (NEA). (1982) Teacher Opinion Poll Washington, D.C.; NEA.
- (55) In relation to disruptive behaviour, Lane (1990). comments that 'The role of the school has recently received far more attention'. See Lane, D. (1990). The Impossible Child, Stoke-on-Trent; Trentham Books. (p. 14).
- (56) As in the 'off-site' units of England, or the alternative schools and programmes in the United States.
- (57) Topping, K. (1983) Educational Systems for Disruptive Adolescents, Beckenham; Croom Helm, provides an overview of provision in England (pp.35-53). In the United States, Hurley, (1981) offers a similar focus. See Hurley, L. (1981). 'Alternative Education : Another Way' NJEA Review, 54 (7), pp. 18-20.
- (58) The 'de-schooling' movement of the 1960's may be regarded as a pointer to this urban concentration of provision. Goodman raised questions about the relationship of man to the modern urban industrial environment; in 'Growing Up Absurd' he argued that the young in the United States failed to 'grow up' because they lived in a society that was unfit to grow up in. He advocated mini-schools as one solution. It might be argued that, in this context, 'failure to grow up' might be indicated by inappropriate responses to school : disruptive behaviour is often viewed in this way. See Goodman,P. (1961). Growing Up Absurd, New York; Gollancz.
- (59) See Chapter Six.
- (60) This is extensively reviewed in West, W. (1984). 'Phenomenon and Form in Interactionist and Neo-Marxist Qualitative Educational research', in Barton, L. and Walker, S. (Eds.) (1984). Social Crisis and Educational Research, Beckenham; Croom-Helm. pp. 256-285.
- (61) ILEA. (1980). Disruptive Pupils, Report of the Chief Education Officer to the Schools Sub-Committee, (26.1.78). London; ILEA, is an example.
- (62) As in the Safe Schools Study, (1977). (op.cit.).
- (63) Rothstein, S. (1987). 'Schooling in Mass Society', Urban Education, 22 (3), October. pp. 267-85.
- (64) Ibid. p.279.
- (65) This is covered in detail in Fulcher, G. (1989). Disabling Policies ?, Lewes; Falmer.
- (66) Ibid. pp.48-59.
- (67) The problem is articulated by Richards, J.(1989). 'The Schools as Dumping Ground for the Community's Responsibilities to Children', School Organisation, 9 (1), pp. 115-120.
- (68) See Neel, R. & Rutherford, R. (1981). 'Exclusion of the socially maladjusted from services under PL 94-142', in Wood, F.(Ed.) (1981). Perspectives for a new decade : Education's responsibility for seriously disturbed and behaviorally disordered children and youth, Reston, Va; Council for Exceptional Children, and Fulcher, G. (1989) Disabling Policies ?, Lewes; Falmer. pp. 158-185.
- (69) Clarizio discusses the implications of this in Clarizio, H. (1987). 'Differentiating Emotionally Impaired from Socially Maladjusted Students', Psychology in the Schools, 24, July. pp.237-43.
- (70) Sacken, D. (1989). 'Due Process and Democracy', Urban Education, 23 (4), pp. 323-347.
- (71) Corcoran, T., Walker, L. and White, J. (1988) (op.cit.), p. 37.
- (72) Mortimore, J. & Blackstone, T.(1982). Disadvantage and Education, London; Heinemann Educational.
- (73) Ibid. p.19.
- (74) See Mongon, D. and Hart, S. (1989) Improving Classroom Behaviour : New Directions for Teachers and Pupils, London; Cassell. (p. 29).
- (75) Ibid. (p. 29).

- (76) Although this is not to say that such students are a majority group within urban schools. This point is argued in Grace, G. (Ed.) (1984) (op.cit.), p. 42.
- (77) In the absence of an agreed means of assessing their 'special educational need': this is discussed by Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (1984). 'The Politics of Integration in England' in Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (1984). Special Education and Social Interests, Beckenham; Croom-Helm. pp.71-2
- (78) Ibid. p.72.(79).
- (79) Clark, D. (1986) 'Disruptive Behaviour in Secondary Schools', Educational Psychology in Practice, January. pp. 154-158. (p. 156).
- (80) The problem of high-school drop-out rates is frequently referred to in the context of disruptive behaviour in schools. This is especially the case in the United States, where the term 'children at-risk' has been used as a general category for all such students. See, for example, Richardson, V. , Casanova, U., Placier, P. and Guilfoyle, K. (1989) School Children At-Risk, Lewes; Falmer.
- (81) An overview of this is provided in Bash, L., Coulby, D. and Jones, C. (1985) Urban Schooling : theory and practice, London; Holt, Rinehart and Winston. (pp. 106-131).
- (82) Ford, J. , Mongon, D. and Whelan, M. (1982) Special Education and Social Control : Invisible Disasters, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul.

## CHAPTER FOUR : AN ECOSYSTEMIC VIEW OF CAUSALITY.

Research to identify potentially disruptive students has isolated dozens of variables : socioeconomic status, academic achievement, IQ, race, sex, age, number of siblings, and whether or not parents are divorced. (1)

### **Introduction.**

In the previous Chapter it was argued that disruptive students are predominantly a feature of schools in certain urban areas. Within that argument, reference was made to a range of macro social and economic conditions which contribute to the difficulties which schools in such locations have to face (2). It was also suggested that such conditions contribute, together with more micro factors relating to schools and individual teachers and students, to the creation of a section of the school community referred to as disruptive students.

The present Chapter will use these issues, and its preceding general context, to explore a range of theories which have been used to account for the existence of disruptive students in urban schools, in both England and the United States. It will attempt to establish a set of often interdependent factors which comprise an ecosystem of causes. These are termed micro-systemic, mesosystemic, exosystemic and macro-systemic factors. The purpose of this approach is to illustrate that factors which contribute to the creation of a disruptive student are drawn from the whole ecosystem. A subsequent Chapter will link this 'ecology of cause' to a proposed definition of the term disruptive student, which may be utilised in a comparative study (3). Additionally, by showing that 'cause' is multi-dimensional, an argument will be provided, at the conclusion of this study, that potential solutions should be multi-dimensional in approach, and that within this the views of the disruptive students themselves should merit more consideration (4).

The Chapter is arranged in three sections. In the first an overview of ecological theory, developed primarily by Bronfenbrenner (5), will be provided. This outline will suggest a framework within which a number of factors, which have been used to account for the existence of disruptive students in England and the United States, can be considered. This framework will comprise a number of 'definitions' which are central to ecological theory, and their relationship to disruptive students in schools will be demonstrated.



The ecosystemic definitions thus outlined will suggest that the behaviour of students who are termed disruptive is informed by an ecology of causes. The purpose of the second section of the Chapter will be to provide theoretical examples of these causes, which are taken from each of the four parts of the ecosystem.

The final section of the Chapter will consider some of the tensions that exist between explanations which are 'individual' (as in the microsystem and mesosystem) and those which are 'cultural' or 'environmental' (as in the case of the exosystem and macrosystem). Additionally, the suggestion that micro-systemic research can provide a number of indicators of broader social, political and educational issues will be considered, whilst at the same time recognising the importance of the views of individual disruptive students, which have been mainly unacknowledged in previous comparative research in England and the United States (6).

This Chapter, therefore, provides an important linking text. It firstly constructs a theoretical basis for an ecosystemic interpretation of the possible causes of the phenomenon. By doing this it suggests that 'cause' can provide supporting evidence that time, place and social interaction are key explanatory features and can be seen to be at work in each part of the student's ecosystem. By this means some of the difficulties presented in attempting to define the term 'disruptive student' can be resolved, so that a comparative study of the views of such students may be undertaken.

### **i. Theorising the Causal Ecology of Disruptive Students.**

Research findings make it difficult to offer definitive causal accounts of the disruptive behaviour of school-students (7). This would appear to be logical, as it will be demonstrated that there is no consensus regarding a definition of the term disruptive student in either England or the United States. Nevertheless the disparate nature of definition and cause, and the situation specificity which attends student behaviours, offers some potential for developing an ecosystemic approach to researching the phenomenon. This initial section of the Chapter will firstly attempt to theorise the ecological approach to disruptive behaviour. It will then offer support for a view that, in seeking understandings and remedial strategies, some insights into causality must be sought from the product of past and current interactions of the individual disruptive student. This would include a consideration of all the social and physical units within which the disruptive student participates (8).

The concept of the ecological environment in relation to the individual was developed by Bronfenbrenner (9). His theory proposed the existence of an 'ecosystem'. Each individual or group, Bronfenbrenner argued, had their own set of organismic experiences (10). He further proposed that the processes of human interaction should be studied in their natural habitat (11). The importance of this approach was that it represented a move away from the (then) predominant trend in psychology, which attempted to research the behaviour of children by studying isolated pieces of information in laboratory settings (12). Bronfenbrenner's theory stressed the need for a much broader interpretation, placing the child in a social context (13). Apter (14) suggested that this approach should stress the need to go beyond such narrow visions of behavior and development and to find ways to focus on the interactions of children with critical aspects of their environments. (15)

Bronfenbrenner outlined a number of definitions by which he sought to clarify such interactions (16). These are summarised in Figure (i), below.

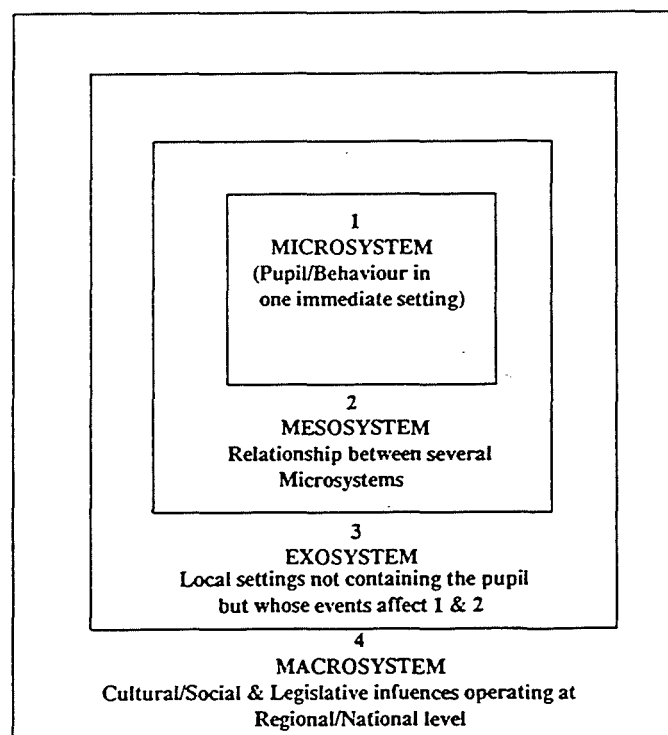


Figure (i) : Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Environment

The underpinning theme, proposed in Definition 1 (17), was that an understanding of human development (of which a study of disruptive behaviour on the part of school students may be said to form part) demanded  
....examination of multiperson systems of interaction

not limited to a single setting and must take into account aspects of the environment beyond the immediate situation containing the subject. (18)

In the case of his Definition 2 (19), Bronfenbrenner argued that a 'microsystem' was a ...pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting with particular physical and material characteristics. (20)

He used the term 'experienced' to include not only 'scientifically relevant features of any environment' (21), but also the way in which 'these objective properties are perceived by the persons in that environment' (22) : it will subsequently be argued, in Chapter Six, that the perceptions of disruptive students have remained largely unacknowledged in either England or the United States. Bronfenbrenner's theory derived much from the ideas of Lewin (23), who acknowledged the importance of 'reality not as it exists in the so-called objective world but as it appears in the mind of the person' (24). This is regarded as an important statement, because it locates the individual and his perceptions (in this case the disruptive student) as an important focus of a research programme.

Definition 3 (25) also provided evidence that this phenomenological perspective can be maintained when wider aspects of human interaction are considered (26). The 'mesosystem', argued Bronfenbrenner, comprised 'the interrelations among two or more settings in which the developing person actively participates' (27). Again, the importance of the 'reality', or individual viewpoint of the participant, as opposed to structural, objective characteristics, was highlighted.

In Definition 4 (28) Bronfenbrenner considered the nature of the exosystem (29). This was described as those settings which, whilst not actively involving the developing person, included events which affect that person (30). As an example he cites the activities of a local School Board (in the case of England, the LEA could be substituted)(31). A further example would be the support agencies, which include social and health-care programmes, which are frequently involved in decision-making concerning disruptive school students..

Finally, the 'macrosystem' was described in Definition 5 (32). This was seen by Bronfenbrenner as those belief systems or ideologies which inform cultures or sub-cultures. He suggested that, in a given society, one classroom looks and functions like another : but they all differ from their counterparts in a different society (33). Whilst there may be some argument with this (34), the broader implication for this study is that 'society' can be equally well conceptualised as an individual school (35) and that the principles of ecosystemic theory can be applied equally well to it.

The theoretical model outlined above is used in gathering ecosystemic data in the two case-study schools which comprise the research sites in England and the United States. The approach, therefore, provides both a rationale, whereby the concepts of context, cause and definition can be theorised, and also a means of maintaining the research focus of the study on the views of the disruptive students in the two schools. Thus, whilst the focus is very much individual, or microsystemic, a broader set of contextual features can be considered.

The ecosystemic environment, therefore, offers an interpretation of the social context of the disruptive student through a series of sub-systems, each containing that person. Whilst the MICROSYSTEM represents those complex responses which the disruptive student makes to his immediate environment (usually a 1:1 classroom or corridor interaction between the student and another student or teacher), the MESOSYSTEM provides a means of interpreting the actions of the student in other, broader social circumstances (ie. to the school as a whole, in relation to other groups, whether other students or teachers). The EXOSYSTEM is an extension of the mesosystem and includes those other social structures which do not directly contain the disruptive student, but which have some influence upon the immediate settings in which that student participates. Finally, the MACROSYSTEM comprises the overarching patterns of culture and subculture of which the micro, meso and exosystems are the concrete manifestation (36). The school context of each system is illustrated diagrammatically in Figure (ii), below.

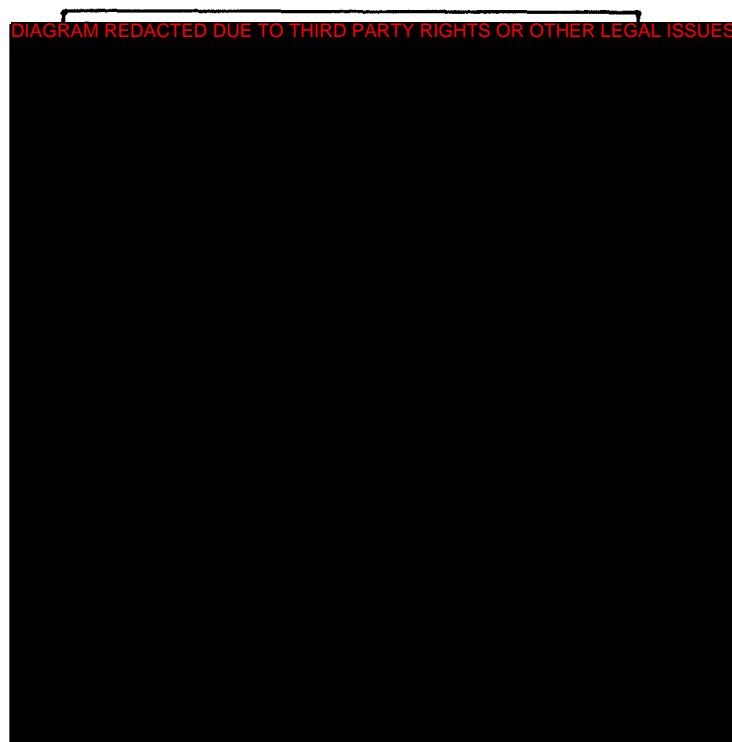


Figure (ii) : The Ecology of the Disruptive Student (adapted from Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) *The Ecology of Human Understanding*; Cambridge; Harvard University Press.

The application of ecosystemic theory to the study of disruptive students is by no means original, and it has been used by researchers and practitioners in both the United States and in England. The approach was initially used in social and health-care programmes in the United States (37). Subsequently it was applied to education systems (38), and became popular in theorising special education in relation to problem students in the United States. Farris & Dunham (39), for example, proposed that explanations of deviance could be found by conceptualising social disorganisation in terms of 'concentric zones'. Vogel & Bell (40) and Mischler & Waxler (41) suggested that the emotional disturbance of students was the result of a malfunction in interaction. Within all of this, Feagan (42) saw the need to

attempt to combine all of this (ecosystemic theory)  
into a general theory to account for emotional disturbance. (43)

Hewett & Taylor (44), also in the United States, acknowledged the wholistic effect of the student's environment on behaviour, noting that the quality of a student's interaction with the environment can exaggerate or reduce even serious biological problems. Finally, Pellegrini (45) summarised the use of recent ecological approaches in the United States, as they related to child-study. He stated, in concluding an overview of the approach, that

we must be aware that these different levels of context influence children's behavior. If we are to construct an accurate picture of how children perceive a particular environment, we must take these various influences into consideration. (46)

Much of the formative theorising, and the practical application, ecosystemic approaches with problem students has, therefore, been carried out in United States. In England there has not been such a well established tradition of work in this area. More recently, however, it has begun to be acknowledged in the literature (47). In common with the United States, the focus for much of the early work was in the social and health-care programmes (48). This was subsequently extended to education. In schools, therefore, Burden (49) and Taylor (50) outlined the need for a 'systemic' approach to managing behaviours, whilst Gillham (51), Shuttleworth (52) and Stoker (53) all offered strategies based upon 'systems intervention'. This work stressed the requirement for inter-agency problem solving, the inference being that as possible causes of disruption may be drawn from a wide range of sources, both within-child and from the environment, solutions had to be equally broad in application (54).

In summary, ecological theory may be characterised by the study of both the immediate contextual variables (the microsystem and mesosystem) and more distal contextual variables (the exosystem and macrosystem). Each has profound effects on the behaviour of

students in schools (55). The next section of the Chapter will consider each sub-system, and outline a range of possible explanations within them which might account for the existence of disruptive students in urban schools in England and the United States.

## **(ii) Disruptive Students in England and the United States : An Ecology of Causes**

The traditional rationale for disruptive behaviour by school students tended to emphasise within-student characteristics (56). Often this had been used to label groups of students in schools (57). Historically, therefore, the focus of explanation has been placed upon certain personality attributes of the student, which might incline one student towards disruption more than another (58).

Using the model of the ecological environment proposed by Bronfenbrenner's 'ecosystem' (59) and outlined in section (i), above, it is possible to establish, from the existing literature, a series of explanations for disruptive behaviour by students from within each sub-system. These are :

- (a) The Microsystem (1:1 Classroom/Corridor Encounters).
- (b) The Mesosystem (School Encounters in General).
- (c) The Exosystem (Support Systems : Education, Health Welfare).
- (d) The Macrosystem (Overall Patterns of Culture & Ideology).

Such an ecosystemic analysis of cause has the merit of, on the one hand, preserving Frude & Gault's view that 'some pupils are clearly more disruptive than others' (60), whilst at the same time enabling possible causes to be explored from a social interest model (61). This proposes a shift away from a view of disruptive behaviour as a 'deficit' or 'handicap' to an interest in social processes, including what happens in schools (62). These can best be analysed in the wider context of education systems and other societal structures and organisations (in other words, both exosystemic and macrosystemic)(64). This model, therefore, endeavours to provide a multi-layered exploration of cause, incorporating all aspects of the disruptive student's experience.

The examples from each sub-system, given below, help to demonstrate that causal factors may be drawn from the four parts of a student's ecosystem. In presenting explanations for disruptive behaviour by school students within individual categories of the ecosystem, the

dynamic and interactive nature of the model should be borne in mind. Individual parts of the ecosystem do not function in isolation, therefore, and both context and behaviour are regarded as interdependent (63).

#### **(a) Microsystemic Causes (1:1 Classroom Encounters.**

The first unit of analysis within the ecosystem is the disruptive student in his immediate context. It has been noted, in Chapter Two, section iii, that the move from an individual pathology or deficit model has been one characteristic of the post- PL 94-142 and Warnock eras in the United States and England (64). Prior to that period there was an emphasis, illustrated in the literature from the time, upon the individual characteristics of problem students. The suggestion was that certain students were more inclined to be disruptive than others. Thus, disruptive students in schools have been linked by research evidence with violent delinquency (65), high rates of truancy (66), low attainment and IQ (67), gender specificity (68) and biological factors (69). The deficit underpinning of much of this research, in both England and the United States, has been an important ideological feature of such studies, particularly in the period prior to special education legislation in the two countries.

More recently explanations have been sought from the disruptive student's interactions in the immediate social setting of the classroom (70). These considerations are reviewed in full in Chapter Six, where they are related to the concept of a 'student reality' based on the views of disruptive students concerning four aspects of their school experience. Such explanations have included the possible effects of classroom peer groups and individual teachers, and of the organisation and procedures of whole schools. This has been the subject of an increasing number of studies in the United States and England (71). The emphasis of this work, at the microsystemic level, has tended to shift, therefore, from the individual, within-student explanation, which characterised the period prior to special education legislation in both countries, to an interactionist, phenomenological approach (72).

A further explanation for the disruption caused by certain students in schools is that some disruptive students have been said to lack self-esteem. This situation, it has been argued, originates from their failure to achieve in the academic curriculum (73). The relationship between self-esteem and behaviour has been reported by Coopersmith (74). Low self-esteem, it is suggested, results in feelings of isolation, lack of community and personal deficiencies. Students may then become shy, passive and sensitive to criticism. When a student is repeatedly presented with such alienating environments he may display what

Zimbardo (75) referred to as 'deindividuated behaviour'. Such behaviour is emotional, impulsive, irrational and regressive and could be interpreted on occasions to be disruptive.

Microsystemic causes, therefore, include not only personality and biological factors, which have characterised early research concerning problem behaviour in schools, but also a particular emphasis upon the complexity of small social groupings, to which the disruptive student belongs.

### **(b) Mesosystemic Causes (School Encounters in General)**

A second group of explanations for the phenomenon of the disruptive student in schools may be theorised as belonging to the mesosystem. Explanations from this group, which includes the influence of the school's organisation and ethos on the behaviour of students, have been the subject of much research in the period 1980 to 1990 in England and the United States during that time (76). There has been considerable recent debate on the effect of whole schools on students' behaviour (77). Existing research has pinpointed two areas of concern : the curricular opportunities and performances of disruptive students, and the social interactions that help frame the 'hidden curriculum' for such students in the whole school (78). The report prepared by The Holmes Group in the United States, for example, illustrates this by acknowledging that the 'children at risk' status is created and exacerbated by school and classroom enforcement of limited assumptions about their potential abilities and strengths' (79).

Within the mesosystem the differential characteristics of schools provide an important area for consideration. Research in both England (80) and the United States (81) has indicated that some schools are more inclined to be 'coercive' and, hence, more 'deviance provocative' than others (82). Within schools, too, there is evidence to suggest that individual groups of teachers have particular personal and professional characteristics which are more inclined to result in problematic behaviours by some students (83).

In sum, therefore, mesosystemic causes are those which refer to factors which influence the behaviours of disruptive students in various whole-school settings, or in their group interactions with peers and teachers.

### **(c) Exosystemic Causes (Supporting Systems).**

Although students do not usually participate actively in the exosystem they are, nevertheless, influenced by its characteristics (84). Exosystemic considerations include the



possible effects of Local Education Authority (LEA) or School Board organisation, and the impact of the support agencies, including social workers and psychologists, on the educational careers of disruptive students. This can be illustrated by two aspects of the exosystem : the importance, in both England and the United States, of the role of educational psychologists, and the willingness of the LEA or School Board to provide alternative schooling for disruptive students. The role of educational psychologists, employed by these administrative units, has been very influential in categorising students as disruptive in both England and the United States (85) and has been referred to earlier in this study (86). To be termed a disruptive student is a label which holds no clinical status (87). There is evidence, from both England and the United States, that students categorised as such incorporate the behaviours of their label, particularly when grouped with students who have been similarly categorised (88).

Moreover, it has also been suggested, in Chapter Three of this study, that the establishment of alternative educational provision for disruptive students is inclined to maintain the existence of the category (89). Equally, the prevailing national legislation, in both England and the United States, may provide a causal rationale for the existence of such a label by providing a category for the placement of such students (90). Some of these broader issues have been reviewed by Ford, Mongon & Whelan (91) in England, and by Carrier (92) in the United States.

As with other parts of the ecosystemic model, exosystemic explanations for disruptive behaviour by school students provide an illustration of the interrelationship between them and other aspects of the student's ecosystem. Thus school policy, and the organisational procedures which are subsumed within it, determines what is valued or discouraged in the school as a whole (exosystem), but in turn influence the classroom interactions (microsystem) involving disruptive students. Policy and procedure within individual schools are, in turn, ultimately subject to the exosystemic influences described above.

#### **(d) Macrosystemic Causes (Overall Patterns of Culture and Ideology.**

Macrosystemic causes offer a wide range of cultural and ideological explanations for the existence of disruptive students in both England and the United States. These range from ethnic differences (93) to considerations of societal 'anomie' (94), social and cultural reproduction (95) and cultural resistance (96). Lane (97) provides an overview of these.

It has been noted, by many commentators in both England and the United States, that the cumulative features of 'home background' can create problems for a student which might

lead to disruptive behaviour in school. The interpretation is summarised by Essen and Wedge as

the combination of poor housing, low income, uncertain health, insecure employment, coupled often, no doubt, with limited knowledge of parenting skills, offers a prescription for low achieving, poorly behaved, disenchanted and alienated young people. (98)

The cumulative effects of the 'disadvantage factors' outlined by Essen and Wedge are felt most profoundly in certain urban areas of England and the United States. The potential cultural effects of these on disruptive students in urban schools have been reviewed in Chapter Three, section ii.

### **Summary.**

The preceding examples suggest that cause can be related to a wide range of environmental contexts. By comparing the four sets of explanations drawn from individual sub-systems which comprise the ecosystem along with the original outline of ecological theory proposed by Bronfenbrenner, it is possible to suggest that a consideration of the reality of the disruptive student should acknowledge the existence of an 'ecology-wide' set of explanatory factors. Any of these can have more or less influence at any one time, dependent upon the individual student. For the purposes of this study the comment by Barton & Tomlinson (99) appears to be significant

.....there is continuing need for micro-level studies of the way in which those considered to be special or handicapped actually do live in the social world, how they are treated and labelled and how they perceive and accomodate to their treatment. (100)

Whilst not relating directly to disruptive students, this observation offers encouragement for the development of a research style which is based upon qualitative case study within the micro and mesosystems; at the same time it acknowledges the existence of an individual reality which is, in part at least, influenced by exo- and macrosystemic factors. Nevertheless, a tension between micro- and macro-interpretations of disruptive behaviour (101) has always been apparent, and the concluding section of this Chapter will comment on some aspects of this issue.

#### **(iv) Micro versus Macro Investigation.**

Section (ii) of the present Chapter argued that causal factors for disruptive students may be drawn from each of the four sub-systems within the total ecosystem. The final section of this Chapter comprises a brief outline of the tensions that exist between micro factors and macro factors. The section will endeavour to show that an accommodation of both interpretations may be possible, in a way which can be utilised in a comparative research strategy which focusses upon the reality of the disruptive student, as expressed by their statements concerning school.

Macro-theories of explanation for the phenomenon of disruptive students in schools have tended to emphasise the importance of structure (the organisation and philosophy of education systems) over agency (the power of individuals to act dynamically within that structure (102). Such theories have been criticised because of their apparently deterministic view of the role of the social actor (in this case the disruptive student) (103).

The present Chapter has provided some evidence to suggest that, whilst explanations which might account for the existence of disruptive students are drawn from all parts of the ecosystem, many theorists have traditionally tended to adopt rationales based upon the views of educational professionals. These, in turn, are closely influenced by the cultural and ideological patterns of the macrosystem. The nature of professional ideology, the societal pressure to categorise deviant groups, and the demand for effective schools which produce compliant workers, comprise a macro-context within which the possible causes of disruptive behaviour in schools have traditionally been theorised (104).

More recently, however, the literature in both England and the United States has attempted to link agency and structure together (105). The importance of this approach within this study, illustrated in a consideration of a causal ecology, is the suggestion that micro-theory and macro-theory should not be viewed as polar concepts, but as two explanatory elements of a total system. Thus, it may be argued that micro-theory incorporates microsystem and mesosystem, whilst macro-theory considers the exosystem and macrosystem. As Shilling has observed in this respect,

educational analyses remain divided largely into  
macro-level work....and micro-level work. However,  
the split has had a number of unfortunate consequences  
for the development of the field. (106)

In other words, the suggestion made is that explanations should not be viewed as competing rationales, but rather as interacting, synthetic elements of an ecosystem. Further exploration and discussion of this concept is provided in Chapter Ten, section i.

## **(v) Conclusion**

This Chapter has attempted to demonstrate that evidence of causality for disruptive students may be drawn from each part of the ecosystem. If the concept of ecosystems is accepted, then it is axiomatic that causes, drawn from any given ecosystem, will not operate in isolation. The microsystem, for the disruptive student, is the focus of this wide range of multi-systemic causes. This consideration represents the individual-centred paradigm for working with disruptive students, but which is seen from the broader, non-clinical and context-sensitive stance of the student. A microsystemic analysis, within an individual ecosystem, also retains a much broader context-sensitivity, particularly to mesosystemic issues. Moreover, such a flexible approach may also be able to incorporate the broader aspects of exosystemic and macrosystemic evidence. The tension between the two has often been because one has been utilised without the other. This review of causality has provided some indication that overlaps between sub-systems are frequent, and that it follows that a much broader context based approach may be beneficial. A crucial part of this, according to Bronfenbrenner, is the individual student reality (107). This is represented in this study by the views of the disruptive student concerning aspects of his experiences in school.

Prior to a consideration of the ways in which such views have tended to remain marginalised in the school systems of England and the United States, the important task of definition needs to be attempted. By using the previous Chapters, which have raised a number of contextual themes which are essential to the formulation of a definition of the term 'disruptive student', the following Chapter will provide a definition which may be used in a comparative study of such students in two case-study schools in England and the United States.

## NOTES : CHAPTER FOUR

- (1) Center on Evaluation, Development and Research. (1981). 'Practical Applications of Research', Phi Delta Kappa, September. p.5.
- (2) Chapter Three, section ii.
- (3) Chapter Five.
- (4) The rationale for such an approach is that 'Traditional studies of classroom control tend to view deviant students as detrimental to the quality of classroom instruction', whereas a more incorporative approach allows such students to be 'viewed as potential; assets for maintaining control of the classroom'. See Stevenson, D. (1991). 'Deviant Students as a Collective Resource in Classroom Control', Sociology of Education, 64, April. pp.127-133. (p.127).
- (5) Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). The Ecology of Human Development, Cambridge; Harvard University Press.
- (6) This issue is considered in full in Chapter Six.
- (7) Docking, J. (1987). Control and Discipline in Schools, London; Harper. p.12.
- (8) Cantrell, M. (1974). 'The Incidence of Children's Inappropriate Behavior as a Function of Skill/Demand Discrepancies', Mimeograph, Peabody College. p.1
- (9) Bronfenbrenner, (op.cit).
- (10) Ibid. Bronfenbrenner states that 'The ecology of human development lies at a point of convergence among the disciplines of biological, psychological, and social sciences as they bear on the evolution of the individual in society'. p.15.
- (11) Ibid. He states that 'the ecological orientation....translates into operational terms a theoretical position seldom put into practice in research. This is the thesis, expounded by psychologists and sociologists alike, that what matters for behavior and development is the environment as it is perceived rather than as it may exist in 'objective' reality'. p.4.
- (12) Ibid. p.16.
- (13) Ibid. p.18.
- (14) Apter, S. (1982). Troubled Children/Troubled Systems New York; Pergamon.
- (15) Ibid. p.59.
- (16) Bronfenbrenner, (op.cit), Chapters 2-8. He outlines a total of 14 Definitions. This section focusses on Definitions 1-5, which outline the nature of the ecosystem.
- (17) Ibid. p.21.
- (18) Ibid. p.22.
- (19) Ibid. p.22.
- (20) Ibid. p.22. It should be noted that this phenomenologist approach does not necessarily have its origins in either an aversion to behaviouristic concepts or to a stress upon existential philosophy. The approach is underpinned by the Bronfenbrennerian view that 'very few of the external influences significantly affecting human behavior and development can be described solely in terms of objective physical conditions and events', (p.22).
- (21) Ibid. p. 23.
- (22) Ibid. p. 22.
- (23) Lewin, K. (1935). 'Psychological Ecology', in Cartwright, D. (1935). Field theory in social science : Selected theoretical papers by Kurt Lewin, New York; Harper -Row.
- (24) Ibid. Quoted by Bronfenbrenner, (op. cit.), p. 23.
- (25) Bronfenbrenner, (op. cit.), p. 25.
- (26) In this case, the interaction between the disruptive student and his teachers, as perceived by the student.
- (27) Hence, following this argument, the mesosystem is a series of microsystems.
- (28) Bronfenbrenner, (op. cit.), p. 25. He states that the exosystem includes events which 'affect, or are affected by, what happens in the setting containing the developing person'. (p.25).
- (29) Ibid. p. 25.
- (30) In one sense Bronfenbrenner is here developing a Piagetian view that the student (child) becomes capable of creating a world of his own that likewise reflects his psychological growth. He states that 'An ecological perspective accords to this fantasy

world both a structure and a developmental trajectory, for the realm of the child's imagination also expands along a continuum from the micro- to the eso-, exo- and even the macro-level'. Ibid. p.10).

(31) Bronfenbrenner, (op.cit.), p. 25.

(32) Ibid. p. 26.

(33) Ibid. p.26.

(34) As the comments of the disruptive students in this study will suggest, there is some similarity between the views of disruptive students in the English school and those of the school in the United States.

(35) This concept has been widely used in educational research in both countries.

(36) Whilst at the same time maintaining the transactional nature of the model. See Bronfenbrenner, (op. cit. ), p. 26-27.

(37) See, for example Germain, C. (1978) 'General systems theory and egopsychology: An ecological perspective', Social Work Review, 52, pp. 535-550.

(38) Apter, S. (1982) (op. cit. ) p. 22-56.

(39) Farris, R. & Dunham, H. (1939). Mental Disorders in Urban Areas. Chicago; University of Chicago Press.

(40) Vogel, N. & Bell, E. (Eds. ). (1960). A Modern Introduction to the Family. New York; Free Press.

(41) Mischler, E. & Waxler, N. (1968). Interaction in Families: An Experimental Study of Family Processes in Schizophrenia. New York; Wiley.

(42) Feagans, L. (1972) . ' Ecological Theory as a Model for Constructing a Theory of emotional Disturbance' in Rhodes, W. & Tracy, M. (Eds.). A Study of Child Variance (Vol.1), Ann Arbor; Institute for the Study of Mental Retardation & Related Disabilities.

(43) Ibid. p 379.

(44) Hewett, F. & Taylor, F. (1980) The Emotionally Disturbed Child in the Classroom : The Orchestration of Success, Boston; Allyn Bacon.

(45) Pellegrini, A. (1991) Applied Child Study: A Developmental Approach. Hillsdale; Erlbaum. pp. 17-36

(46) Ibid. p. 35.

(47) Cooper, P. and Upton, G. (1991) 'Controlling the urge to control: An ecosystemic approach to problem behaviour in schools', Support for Learning, 6 (1 ), pp. 22-25.

(48) Bateson, G. (1972) Steps to an Ecology of Mind; New York; Chandler.

(49) Burden, R. (1978). 'Schools' Systems Analysis : a project centred approach', in Gillham, B. (Ed.). Reconstructing Educational Psychology, Beckenham; Croom Helm.

(50) Taylor, D. (1985). 'Schools as a target for change : intervening in the school system', in Dowling, E. & Osborne, E. (Eds.) The Family and the School. London; Routledge and Kegan Paul.

(51) Gillham, (op.cit.).

(52) Shuttleworth, R. (1983). 'Wheels within Wheels : A Systems Approach to Maladjustment', Maladjustment and Therapeutic Education, 1 (2), pp. 32-40.

(53) Stoker, R. (1987). 'Systems Intervention in Schools - The Ripple Effect', Educational Psychology in Practice, April. pp. 44-50.

(54) This is discussed in Chapter Six, section iii.

(55) Mortimore et.al (1983) remark that 'whilst it is not possible to claim that factors in a pupil's family or school environment directly cause misbehaviour, there are certain aspects of family and school experience which are clearly associated with disturbed or disturbing behaviour', (p.7). See Mortimore, P., Davies, J., Varlaam, A. and West, A. Behaviour Problems in Schools. Beckenham; Croom Helm. The authors acknowledge that seeking direct 'causes' for disruptive behaviour is a problematic issue; the argument here is that an 'ecological' approach, stressing the interactive nature of causality, is essential for an interpretation which allows for a student reality.

(56) The so-called biological model. Aspects of this are reviewed by Newcomer, P. (1980) Understanding and Teaching Emotionally Disturbed Children, Boston; Allyn and Bacon. (pp. 24-33).

(57) This is discussed in Chapter Six, section ii.

(58) This interpretation owes a great deal to the work of Becker. See Becker, H. (1970) Sociological Work, Chicago; Aldine.

- (59) Bronfenbrenner, (op.cit.).
- (60) Frude, N. & Gault, H. (Eds.) (1984). Disruptive Behaviour in Schools Chichester; Wiley. p.25.
- (61) See for example Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (Eds.) (1984). Special Education and Social Interests, Beckenham; Croom Helm. The authors state the need to 'acquire wider social, political, historical and comparative perspectives on the policies and practices that make up special education', (p.1).
- (62) In Frude's (1984) framework for analysis of disruptive behaviour, the 'wider context' is acknowledged, (p.36). See Frude, N. 'Frameworks for Analysis', in Frude, N. & Gault, H. (1984). (op.cit.), pp. 19-42.
- (63) Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) ) (op.cit.) He states : 'the understanding of human development demands more than the direct observation of behavior on the part of one or two persons in the same place; it requires examination of multiperson systems of interaction not limited to a single setting' (p. 21).
- (64) This shift in official interpretation, marked by PL 94-142 in the United States and by the 1981 Education Act in England is discussed at length by Fulcher, G. (1989). Disabling Policies, Basingstoke; Falmer. pp 21-43.
- (65) Austin (1984), for example, stated that 'the best predictor of serious delinquency is association with delinquent peer groups'. See Austin, J. (1984). 'Prepared Statement' for the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families. Washington, D.C. ; U.S. Government Printing Office. This issue is examined in greater detail by West, D. (1982). Delinquency : It's Roots, Careers and Prospects. London; Heinemann.
- (66) Disruptive students often (although not always) truant from school, which they regard as inappropriate to their needs. This is explored by Mongon, D. and Hart, S. (1989). Improving Classroom Behaviour : New Directions for Teachers and Pupils. London; Cassell Educational. p. 83.
- (67) Often disruptive behaviour is seen to be concomitant with low attainment ; see, for example, Rutter, M. and Madge, N. (1976). Cycles of Disadvantage, London; Heinemann.
- (68) Clarricoates, K. (1980). 'All in a Day's Work', in Spender, D. and Sarah, E. Learning to Lose.... London; The Women's Press. The author comments that 'Any girl who is "aggressive" or "independent" and any boy who is "effeminate" or "sensitive" are the exceptions...' (p.76).
- (69) Eysenck, H. (1979). 'The Origins of Violence', Journal of Medical Ethics, 5, pp. 105-107. and West, D. (1982). (op.cit.).
- (70) Willis, P. (1977). Learning to Labour, Farnborough; Saxon House; Marotto, R. (1978). 'Posin' to be chosen : an ethnographic study of 10 lower class black male adolescents in an urban high school' Ed.D., State Univ. of New York; Buffalo. Woods, P. (1979) The Divided School, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul and Schostak, J. (1983). Maladjusted Schooling, Basingstoke; Falmer.
- (71) One example of the roots of this is discussed by Hargreaves, D. (1982) 'The Two Curricula of Schooling', in The Challenge for the Comprehensive School, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (72) This development has been reviewed in Chapter Two, section ii.
- (73) Gurney, P. (1988), Self Esteem in Children with Special Educational Needs, London; Routledge.
- (74) Coopersmith, S. (1968). 'Studies in Self Esteem', Scientific American, 218, February. pp.96-106.
- (75) Zimbardo, P. (1969). 'The Human Choice : Individuation, Reason and Order Versus Deindividuation, Impulse and Chaos', in Arnold, W. Levine, D. (Eds.). Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, Lincoln; University of Nebraska Press.
- (76) A growth in studies on both 'school effect' and 'school effectiveness' has been summarised by Creemers, B., Peters, T. & Reynolds, D. (1989). School Effectiveness and School Improvement, Amsterdam; Swets & Zeitlinger; the impetus of such studies has been equally apparent in the United States as in England. Creemers et.al. (op.cit.) offer a selection of examples.
- (77) Reynolds, D. (1985). Studying School Effectiveness, Lewes; Falmer. is indicative of the literature concerning this debate.

- (78) Such 'whole school' factors are sketched by Johnstone, M. and Munn, P. (1987). Discipline in Schools, Edinburgh, SCRE. See pp. 28-30.
- (79) The Holmes Group.(1986). Tomorrows Teachers, New York; The Holmes Group. p. 32.
- (80) This is documented by Docking, J. (1987) Control and Discipline in Schools, London; Harper and Row. pp. 30-43.
- (81) Brophy, J. (1982) 'Classroom organization and management', The Elementary School Journal, 82, pp. 265-285.
- (82) Reynolds, D. (1989) 'School Management and Pupil Behaviour', in Jones, N. (Ed.) (1989) School Management and Pupil Behaviour, Lewes; Falmer. pp. 29-44.
- (83) Hargreaves, D., Hestor, S. and Mellor, F. (1975) Deviance in Classrooms, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul. p. 260-261.
- (84) The exosystem includes the activities of educational psychologists, for example, who have a central role in assessment of students who have special educational needs. This role is outlined in Quicke, J. (1984) 'The Role of the Educational Psychologist in the Post-Warnock Era', in Barton, L. and Tomlinson, S. (1984) (op.cit.), pp. 122-148. Fulcher (1989) summarises the position, applicable to both England and the United States : 'In educational apparatuses, the professionals who hold the power are bureaucrats, educational psychologists....' See Fulcher, G. (1989) (op.cit.), p. 39.
- (85) This is argued in Tomlinson, S. (1982) A Sociology of Special Education, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul. pp. 99-101.
- (86) See section iia of the present Chapter.
- (87) Studies on 'labelling' of disruptive students are frequent in both the USA and England. It is worth acknowledging here what Matza referred to as a 'drift' from a primary form of disruptive (deviant) behaviour through a process of public and institutional response and labelling, to a 'secondary' form of disruptive (deviant) behaviour where the student subtly becomes to behave in the way that he is labelled. See Matza,D. (1969). Becoming Deviant, Englewood Cliffs; Prentice Hall.
- (88) An early example of this is provided by Nash, R. (1973) Classrooms Observed, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (89) This is particularly the case with informal provision for special education.
- (90) The origins of this thinking can be traced back to Goffman. See Goffman, E. (1963) Stigma : Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity, Englewood Cliffs; Prentice-Hall.
- (91) Ford, J., Mongon, D.& Whelan, M. (1982).Special Education and Social Control : Invisible Disaters, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (92) Carrier, J. (1983). 'Masking the social in educational knowledge : the case of learning disability theory', American Journal of Sociology, 88. pp. 948-974.
- (93) Taylor, M.(1981). Caught Between, Windsor; NFER. DES (1981) West Indian Children in Our Schools. Interim Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (The Rampton Report), London; HMSO.
- (94) Developed by Merton, R. (1938) 'Social Structure and Anomie', American Sociological Review, 3, pp.672-82. The theory was later used by both American and English researchers to interpret the structural strain of schooling.
- (95) Willis, P. (op.cit.); Marotto,R. (op.cit.).
- (96) Hall, S. & Jefferson, T. (Eds.). (1976). Resistance Through Rituals London; Hutchinson.
- (97) Lane, D. (1990). The Impossible Child, Stoke-on-Trent; Trentham.
- (98) Essen, J. and Wedge, P. (1982). Continuities in Childhood Disadvantage London, Heinemann. (p. 140).
- (99) Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (op.cit.).
- (100) Ibid. p. 11.
- (101) Everhart (1983) advises, in this respect, that 'We must be careful to account not only for the constructive process, but the structural regularities that influence that process'. See Everhart, R. (1983) Reading. Writing and Resistance, Boston; Routledge and Kegan Paul. p. 277.
- (102) Shilling, C. (1992) 'Reconceptualising Structure and Agency in the Sociology of Education : structuration theory and schooling', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 13 (1), pp. 69-87.



(103) Such determinism has been represented, in the case of disruptive students, by the view that they are inclined to always have oppositional views concerning their schooling. As the data provided in Chapter Eight will indicate, this is by no means always the case.

(104) Shilling, C. (1992) (op.cit.), pp. 73-77.

(105) Ibid.

(106) Ibid. pp. 69-70.

(107) Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) (op.cit.), p.21.

## CHAPTER FIVE : DISTURBED, MALADJUSTED OR DISRUPTIVE ? THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION.

It is impossible to find anywhere a definition of the term 'emotionally disturbed children' which had somehow crept into the literature some 30 years ago and has since then been used widely, sometimes as a generality with no terminological boundaries and sometimes with reference to certain psychotic and near-psychotic conditions. (1)

### **Introduction.**

At the end of Chapter Two of this study the need for a working definition of the term disruptive student was stated, so that the term could be used in the English and North American case study sites. Prior to that task, however, Chapters Three and Four have provided evidence from the literature that the phenomenon was chiefly located in urban areas, and that its causes were ecosystemic in nature. Both characteristics have an important bearing upon the search for a definition of the term disruptive student. It will be demonstrated in the present Chapter that the definition 'disruptive student' is prescribed by place and time, and by the interactions of significant individuals within the education systems of England and the United States.

The Chapter comprises five sections. It firstly reviews the difficulties of definition that have traditionally existed in both countries in relation to a range of problem behaviours in schools and classrooms. Secondly, the Chapter considers some of the origins of this terminological confusion, in particular the view that definitions are often based upon the perceptions of key personnel and on the need to serve social policy, rather than the needs of the disruptive student. The third section reviews some of the comparative problems concerned with definition which the lack of definitional consensus in England and the United States has brought about. This is followed by a section examining legal definitions of the term disruptive student in the two countries : this section illustrates the fact that, in spite of recent legislation in special education in both countries, the use of the term disruptive in connection with school-students remains problematic. The final section of the Chapter acknowledges that specific spatial and temporal contexts are important considerations when attempting to define the term disruptive student. A definition and an accompanying rationale, which may be utilised in both an English and United States research setting, is then proposed. This is based upon the ecosystemic approach. The definition of disruptive student, to be used in both case-study sites, is then given.

### **i. A Scenario for Confusion.**

Before attempting to establish a workable definition of what constitutes a disruptive student, so that a comparative study of such students in two schools in England and the United States can be conducted, it is necessary to explore a number of issues relating to the historical differences in terminology which has been used to describe these students.

There are a number of difficulties in doing this. Schools in England and the United States define problem behaviour by their students in very different ways, both in the formal and informal sense (2). Additionally, formal categorisation of the term disruptive student is informed by both regional policy (both Local Education Authority in England and the School Board in the United States) and by national (legal) requirements (3).

Moreover, in order to resolve these problems it becomes necessary to explore terminology used in relation to disruptive students as distinct from disruptive behaviours. Additionally, there has been increasing recent evidence to suggest that there may be disruptive schools (4), and some consideration of this would, therefore, appear to be essential, particularly in the light of the conceptual shift in special education towards individual need (5).

Furthermore, the issue is clouded by significant overlaps in definition as a result of differential identification procedures adopted by professionals working with school students. In England, for example, Upton (6) commented that

Practitioners' preoccupation with more immediate issues frequently results in their assuming that these variations in terminology simply reflect different professional orientations, and that, in spite of differences in terminology, the basic conditions referred to by the terms are the same. (7)

Previously, Rutter, Tizard and Whitmore (8) had rejected a view that made such simplistic assumptions, on the basis that there were important (if slight) differences in the concepts underlying different descriptors of both problem behaviour and, ultimately, the categorisation of those students who engaged in them (9).

This confused situation in England remained even after the 1981 Education Act (10), which introduced a new set of categories of special educational need. With this legislation the central role of the educational psychologist was confirmed (11). As a result of this, their differential interpretations of terms relating to student behaviour was brought into sharp focus (12), partly because of differences in their background, training and professional

preferences (13). There were also significant differences in the ways that Local Education Authorities (LEA), and the teachers working within them, interpreted the national legislation (14). This theme will be revisited in Section iv. of the present Chapter, when the confusion concerning the conflicting definitions of the term disruptive student will be examined at national level.

An equally confusing picture has been apparent in the United States. There, Hobbs (15), Raser & Van Nagel (16) and Haring (17) have also referred to the wide range of interpretations that currently exist in that country. Hobbs, for example, argued that

A particular child.....may be regarded as  
mentally ill by a psychiatrist, as emotionally  
disturbed by a psychologist, and as behavior-disordered  
by a special educator. (18)

If this line of argument is followed then the definition of a student as disruptive may also be seen in terms of the nature of the behaviour itself.

Grosenick & Huntze (19) also expressed concern about definitions relating to students with problem behaviours which were contained within special education legislation in the United States. The focus of their concern was Public Law 94-142, the equivalent United States' legislation to the 1981 Education Act in England (20). They suggested that PL 94-142 concentrates upon psychiatrically defined disturbances, which account for only a small percentage of school behaviour problems. Thus a large number of students, who were non-clinically ascertained as disruptive or maladjusted, were effectively excluded. Grosenick and Huntze further argued that non-formal groups of problem students, to which those who are termed disruptive are ascribed, are inadequately refined in the legislation (21). This results in substantial difficulties of categorisation.

Moreover, it has been noted in the United States that the distinction between 'emotional disturbance' and 'social maladjustment' is frequently a difficult one to make (22), and that this issue has been debated by administrators, psychologists and teachers in the period following the enactment of PL 94-142 (23). Some of the attendant problems of defining the term disruptive student at Federal level in the United States will be considered in Section iv. of this Chapter, where an extended discussion of special education legislation relating to students whose behaviour causes problems in schools in both countries will illustrate some of the difficulties of attempting comparisons based upon national categorisations.

These introductory remarks have outlined a number of problems relating to establishing a workable definition of the term disruptive student for use in a comparative case-study research which uses qualitative methodology. In the absence of an existing clear framework for definition, it therefore appears to be essential that a definitional synthesis, incorporating

a number elements drawn from both the historical traditions of the two countries and from their current practices, is developed.

In developing such a synthesis the argument proposed by Steed & Lawrence (24) in England could be followed. They suggested that the student and the behaviour of the student cannot be easily separated, and must therefore be considered in relation to one another (25). Thus, without consideration of the behaviour which a student has engaged in, and by which he has come to be defined as disruptive, it is impossible to effectively consider the interaction between the student and his environment (26). Conversely, a consideration of behaviour in isolation leaves it bereft of causality, context or individual meaning (27). Both arguments are, therefore, mutually inclusive, and tend to justify the suggestion that an ecosystemic approach may be the most suitable method for a comparative analysis.

In order to develop some of these ideas, the subsequent sections of this Chapter will provide an overview of a number of recent definitional contexts. These will point to the differences that have existed between the definitions of disruptive behaviour used in England and those used in the United States. Furthermore, it will be argued that such differences have prevailed in spite of national legislation concerning special education in both countries, of which the education of disruptive students in mainstream schools is a part (28).

## **ii. Traditions of Definition : Recent History.**

In order to further develop a working definition, it is useful to look more closely at evidence from existing literature in the two countries. Both point to dilemmas in the use of terminology, which have increased rather than decreased in the 1970's and 1980's. As a consequence, there now exists a wide range of descriptors, in both England and the United States, for what will be subsequently termed a disruptive student.

The descriptor 'disruptive student' has been commonly used in England (29). Other descriptors for such students have included 'deviant' (30), 'disaffected' (31), 'problem children' (32) and 'disturbed pupils' (33). More recently, following the 1981 Education Act the term 'Emotionally and Behaviourally Disturbed' (EBD) has been employed, often in a catch-all manner, indicative of both the wide range of interpretations of such behaviours (34) and the confusion that such a broad categorisation causes.

In the United States, an equally confusing situation can be outlined. There, the descriptor 'emotionally disturbed' has been frequently used (35). References to the 'behaviorally disturbed/disordered student' also appear (36), as does mention of the 'disturbing student' (37). Occasionally some reference is made to 'disruptive students' (38), whilst other student-descriptors include those who are termed 'deviant' (39) and 'emotionally impaired' (40). Public Law 94-142 included a full range of descriptors (41), but, as in England, considerable debate has ensued as to the suitability of the legal terminology to practical applications in schools (42).

The problem of establishing an adequate definition in the United States has been further hampered by the use, in the more recent literature, of the terms 'drop-outs', 'push-outs' and 'at-risk' students. All such descriptors may or may not include disruptive students. De Ridder (43), for example, observed that drop-outs have 5 times as many serious discipline incidents in a given period than those who do not drop out. Beck and Muia (44) had already suggested that an appropriate sub-group of the drop-out category was that of the school 'push-out'. These are 'at risk' students who continually receive signals from their schools that they are neither able nor worthy to continue in education. De Ridder offered a typical description :

School pushouts tend to be a sub-group of the drop-out population. Many have similar characteristics, for example low reading and math achievement beginning in the early grades, early academic retention, broken or unhappy homes, and undereducated parents; they are from low socio-economic backgrounds, of minority or ethnic origin, and most frequently they are male. (45)

There are several indications in this description that both drop-out and push-out categories might contain at least some of the characteristics of disruptive students. If this is in fact the case, can they be distinguished from each other? As Topping (46) has argued, the term disruptive student is both loose and ambiguous, and could include a wide range of other informally categorised groups.

Alongside these descriptive terms for the students themselves runs a corresponding set of descriptors of the type of behaviours that disruptive students are inclined to engage in. It is important to acknowledge the behaviours themselves, as it has become clear that disruptive students have tended to be classified as such according to certain problem behaviours (47). Again, these show some differences between England and United States.

In the former, there appears to have been an emphasis upon 'disruptive behaviour' (48) in the descriptive and interpretive literature. Other descriptors relating to behaviour itself have,

however, been used in England. Amongst these are 'problem behaviour' (49), 'maladjusted behaviour' (50) and the overall term 'disruption' (51)

In contrast to this, the literature from the United States has tended to emphasise the term 'behaviour disorder' as an overall descriptor (52). Additional terms used are 'behavior problems' (53), 'behavior disabilities' (54) and 'emotional disturbance' (55). This may, in part, be an indication of the influence of behaviourist psychology in the United States, where the focus is placed upon individual behaviours rather than the student as whole (56).

This brief overview of literature demonstrates that in recent history, and notwithstanding major national legislation in both countries, there has been little agreement even within England and the United States on what constitutes a disruptive student. Furthermore, the wide range of informal descriptors which have traditionally been used to describe problem behaviours by students in schools in both countries indicates not only the theoretical difficulties of defining non-clinical behaviours (57) but also the practical application of such definitions to discrete sections of a school's population (58).

The difficulties involved in establishing a terminological consensus on a theoretical basis is, therefore, considerable. The problem becomes even more complex when cross-national comparisons are attempted. This provides the focus for the next section of the Chapter.

### **iii. Comparative Conflicts of Definition.**

Before progressing towards a useable definition of the term disruptive student, a number of observations need to be made concerning the range of definitions utilised in England and the United States, and the differences which exist between them. Consideration of these can provide some important points of guidance in subsequently arriving at a working definition of the term disruptive student, for use in a comparative study.

Firstly, it is noticeable that there is a tendency for English researchers and practitioners to refer directly to the student as being disruptive (59). In the United States, on the other hand, more attention is directed towards specific behaviours (60). In the case of the former, the problematic behaviour which the student engages is adopted as a descriptor of the student himself (61).

This, in turn, may lead to the labelling of the student as 'disruptive'. The informal use of this 'category' (within the organisational context of the school) subsequently results in the belief that the student who is described as disruptive is always engaged in disruptive

acts)(62). As suggested previously, part of the explanation for this may relate to the widespread use of behavioural techniques in the United States compared to England (63). One principle of this methodology is that the specific behaviour, rather than the student who engages in it, is seen as problematic (64).

In one sense, therefore, the influence of the behavioural sciences in North American special education may possibly have had a beneficial effect, by not contributing to the stigmatisation of those school students who sometimes might engage in disruptive behaviour. On the other hand, the distinction between disruptive students and disruptive acts is one which is infrequently made by English practitioners (65). In contrast to the United States, this may be partly because of the less widespread use of behavioural approaches in many English schools (66). This needs to be acknowledged, therefore, as a point of difference between England and the United States in the search for a suitable definition.

At the same time, a comparative analysis of the terms used to describe the student whose behaviour in school can be disruptive needs to be informed by the nature of the educational systems and sub-systems that exist within England and the United States to provide for such students. In particular, this relates to the debate, largely outside the scope of this work, concerning deviance versus disability (67). Within this it is important to acknowledge that, where a school or school system provides a 'disruptive unit', it is nearly always axiomatic that those students assigned to it become 'disruptive' according to the perceptions of the staff of the schools, whether or not they engage in continuous acts of disruption during that time (68). The student, in turn, may also become institutionalised (69), and subsequently conform to the behaviour expected of him (70). Alternative provision for disruptive students, whilst not central to this thesis, is therefore a factor which contributes towards a definition for use in comparative study.

From the overview, contained in Sections ii. and iii. of this Chapter, of terms used to describe disruptive students, it is evident that (a) there exists a number of similarities and differences between England and the United States, and (b) some important contextual issues. Both (a) and (b) also have to be viewed in relation to regional variations of definition which exist within the two countries. This is worth closer examination and comment, as it illustrates one of the methodological difficulties of making regional comparisons of disruptive students (71).

In the United States, Epstein, Cullinan and Sabatino (72) analysed 47 state definitions of the term behaviour disorder, on the basis of eleven criteria. A wide discrepancy of definition was noted between individual states. In England a similar variation in the



terminology has existed between Local Education Authorities, and this is frequently acknowledged in the literature (73). What becomes clear, from this and other (74) research concerning the problems of definition, is that issues of geographical location and the background and orientation of professional decision-makers in both England and the United States need to be taken into account when establishing a definition which can effectively be used in a comparative study. In particular, this thesis has referred earlier to the urban concentration of the disruptive student (75) : this spatial aspect of the phenomenon is an important consideration when arriving at a definition of the disruptive student for use in comparative research. Specifically, therefore, some researchers have noted that tolerance thresholds for what constitutes a disruptive student vary according to the urban or rural location of the school (76). This, in turn, has an important bearing upon the definition to be adopted in the two case-study schools, which are located in urban settings.

In consequence of the arguments outlined above, it is possible to suggest and support a view that interpretations of the terms 'disruption', 'disruptive behaviour' or 'disruptive student' are essentially context specific (77). Lawrence, Steed and Young (78) have illustrated this point by interpreting disruption in terms of its consequences for institutions in England. A similar theoretical stance has also been adopted for use in the United States (79). The argument, therefore, is that disruptive behaviours, and disruptive students, are bound by context.

The contextual theme for disruptive students and their behaviours has been explored by researchers in both England and the United States. In England, for example, Hargreaves, Hestor and Mellor (80) referred to 'variegated deviancy', indicating the range of behaviours and the situations in which those behaviours take place (81). McDermott (82) further suggested that different teachers view students' behaviour in a variety of ways, according to the situation in which the behaviour occurs. Saunders (83) elaborated the argument a stage further :

If a pupil tips up a chair on which he is sitting  
and falls over backwards, that particular action may  
be regarded as disruptive if it occurs during a period  
when the teacher requires the attention of the class, but  
it may not be regarded as disruptive during a period  
of individual or group activity. (84)

There are, therefore, differences in interpretation by the teacher of both the disruptive act and the student's intentions (85). This, in turn, conditions the response to the student by individual teachers (86). Seen in this way the interaction between the student who has been categorised as disruptive and those who teach him is a key element in developing an understanding of disruptive students' views on aspects of schooling. This important theme,

which is central to this study, will be examined in detail in Chapter Six, where the concept of the 'reality' of the disruptive student will be explored.

Similar debates and confusions concerning definitions of disruptive acts, and their incorporation into the term disruptive student, have existed in the literature from the United States. Rhodes & Hobbs (87) indicate that

The epiphenomenal problem of deviance is complex and the definitions that exist are many. Each time a group of special children gain social and professional attention, a plethora of definitions of the problems of these children follow. The inconsistency is not, as is typically thought, simply in the definitions but rather in the primary view of the world from which the definition is derived. (88)

Again the emphasis appears to be upon behaviour in context, observed by another (teacher) who has pre-determined beliefs about that context and about the disruptive student within it.

Moreover, as Kauffman (89) has pointed out, such contexts are often urban-school contexts, where conflicting ideologies concerning social policy are most evident (90). Definitions relating to disruptive behaviour in such situations are frequently arbitrary and serve political priority rather than the needs of the student (91). This has remained a recurring theme in the definitional debate on both sides of the Atlantic (92). In this sense the context of the behaviour may be a much broader, macro-context, even though the behaviour itself may be set in the micro-context of the classroom.

Some researchers in the United States have referred to the additional parameter of scale. Rubel (93), for example, distinguished between disorders and disruptions. He suggested that disorders are committed by individuals in violation of specific school rules, whilst disruptions were regarded as exclusively group events designed to achieve a planned goal (94). Although this argument may appear to be somewhat prosaic, it nevertheless indicates the extent to which theorists are prepared to go in search of a workable definition.

Herbert (95) has also regarded disruptive behaviour as a group process. Seen in these terms the concept of a disruptive student (singular) would not be an appropriate area for investigation, as it is a term which relies upon interaction for its definition (96). At the same time it would appear to lend support to the argument which establishes a definition of the disruptive student for use in a comparative study through the shared meanings of a group of students and teachers in given locations (97).

Finally, the recent focus upon 'quality' within the education debate in both England (98) and the United States (99) has sought to identify 'effective schools'. One of the parameters used to measure effectiveness in this context has been discipline and order (100). As a result there has been, in part, a return to conceptualising disruption more in terms of the whole school or whole education systems, rather than attributing definitions to individual students within those systems.

What becomes apparent, from this review of the situation in England and the United States, is that individual administrators, teachers and students adopt a wide range of definitions of the term disruptive student. Axiomatically, this spectrum of often contradictory interpretations, gathered from a wide range of professional orientations may be used to support the use of a definition of the term disruptive student which is context sensitive. This will later be termed an ecosystemic definition and it will be theorised in section v. of the present Chapter. Prior to that, however, some consideration of macro-context in the light of national legislation in special education in England and the United States is appropriate. Consideration of both the 1981 Education Act in England and PL 94-142 in the United States provides further evidence that the terms disruptive behaviour and disruptive student remain problematic, even at the level of national legislation.

#### **iv. National Legislation : Continued Confusion.**

In England and the United States major government legislation has been enacted in the last 20 years which, in part, has attempted to deal with problems of definition in special education generally (101). In 1975 Public Law 94-142, The Education of All Handicapped Children Act became law in the United States (102), whilst in England the 1981 Education Act ( Children with Special Educational Needs) (103) was passed.

Both appear to have done very little to ease the definitional problems that have existed within a category of school-student that has always been liable to subjective assessment according to place, time and social, political and economic circumstance (104). Thus, whilst formal, legislative categories have been introduced in each country there remains considerable confusion as to the process by which students should be assigned to these categories and the meaning that the descriptor of their category of assignation (105) holds for teachers, parents and students.

In the case of PL 94-142 in the United States, the categorisation 'serious emotional disturbance' is used, and is defined as

- (i) The term means a condition exhibiting one or more of the

following characteristics over a long period of time and to a marked degree, which adversely affects educational performance :  
 (a) an inability to learn which cannot be explained by intellectual, sensory, or health factors; (b) an inability to build or maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationships with peers and teachers; (c) inappropriate types of behaviour or feelings under normal circumstances; (d) a general pervasive mood of unhappiness or depression, or (e) a tendency to develop physical symptoms or fears associated with personal or school problems (ii) The term includes children who are schizophrenic or autistic. The term does not include children who are socially maladjusted, unless it is determined that they are seriously emotionally disturbed. (106)

This definition has created much controversy (107) because of the non-inclusion of students who are socially maladjusted but not seriously emotionally disturbed. Kauffman (108) commented in this respect that

The addition of that clause makes the definition nonsensical by any conventional logic' and is.....'the kind of ambiguity of language and frailty of logic that keeps lawyers busy and drives decent people insane. (109)

Furthermore, Raiser & Van Nagel (110) pointed out that the term 'behaviour disorders' is used by many to include both emotionally disturbed and socially maladjusted young people, and that it is often difficult to separate the two groups on the basis of overt behaviour. They proceeded to suggest that, since special education has always responded to the full range of behaviour-disordered children, the exclusion of socially maladjusted students from PL 94-142 represents a serious problem for the delivery of services to such students (111).

This study has already referred to the regional variations which exist in both England and the United States in interpreting official (ie. legal) definitions related to disruptive behaviour (112). Legislation in the United States, in spite of a more specific terminological stance than in England, provides many examples of varying regional interpretations of Federal law. In Iowa, for example, the current (1992) assessment manual (113) suggests that while DSM III contains both terms "behavioural" and "emotional", the new Iowa label (sic) consolidates all of the DSM III subtypes under the broad label behavioural disorders....This change came after lobbying by school psychologists and other educators who believed that the earlier term "emotional disabilities" was not broad enough or accurately descriptive. (114)

The strategy is, therefore, intended to provide for more inclusive categorisation. But, at the same time, the confusions (and ideological stances) are clearly apparent.

In the England, the Warnock Report of 1978 (115), which preceded the 1981 Education Act, did not adopt the terms 'disturbed' or 'disruptive'. It retained the use of the term 'maladjusted', on the grounds that 'behaviour' can only meaningfully be considered in relation to the circumstances in which it occurs. But the retention of this term was not explicitly reflected in the 1981 Act, nor was the descriptor defined in clear and workable terms (116).

Furthermore, whilst the Act ensured that students could not be transferred to special schools on the grounds of maladjustment alone, without the protection of a statement relating to attendant learning difficulties which is based on a formal assessment, the Department of Education & Science (DES) Circular 1/83 (117) advised that formal procedures

are not required when ordinary schools provide special educational provision from their own resources in the form of additional tuition and remedial provision or, in normal circumstances, where the child attends ....(a) unit for disruptive pupils. (118)

The means by which these students were to be assessed for referral to such units was not made explicit and individual teachers frequently made arbitrary decisions concerning which of their students were disruptive. Such students were then assigned to non-formal special education (119).

The legislative position in both countries, therefore, remains, open to substantial and ongoing debate. What this overview serves to do is signal the continuing confusion at the formal level of legislation and provision. The implication is that there is a similar chaotic situation when educational professionals attempt to informally ascribe a student to a category which they might term 'disruptive'. Further evidence of the confusion at this non-legislative level in England is provided by Galloway (120) who states that

....pupils who are sent to units for the disruptive could equally well have been described as maladjusted if it could have served any useful administrative purpose. Their behaviour, according to teachers, is at least as disturbing as that of maladjusted pupils. The same applies to their family backgrounds. Whether a child is labelled disruptive or maladjusted has nothing to do with educational, psychological or medical assessment. (121)

Thus Galloway clearly suggests the ad hoc basis by which students who are termed disruptive are ascribed to segregated forms of provision, which came to be known in England as 'disruptive units' (122). Once there, such students were frequently given a label which coincided with their placement : disruptive students (123).

A corresponding interpretation in the United States was provided by Reinert's (124) description that

Most of the behaviors attributed to children in conflict are normal behaviors; at least they are normal if one considers that normal children will sometimes cheat, lie, or act out aggressive feelings by hitting other children. What often makes these behaviors deviant, and the children who exhibit them in conflict, is the fact that the behaviors are exhibited in the wrong places, at the wrong time, in the presence of the wrong people, and to an inappropriate degree. (125)

In both instances, therefore, a definition was implied which incorporated time, place, meaning and interaction. This provides an important contribution to the search for a definition which can be used in a comparative study which is based upon a case-study approach in two schools in two separate countries.

Finally, it is useful to return to the concept that traditional explanations of the term disruptive student (and the accompanying disruptive behaviour which that student may engage in) have tended to focus upon psychological (medical) versus sociological (environmental) factors (126). The tension between these conflicting explanations has been well documented (127), and has been a significant factor in the educational professionals' interpretation of categories in national legislation in both England and the United States (128). In one sense, therefore, the question of scale is clearly problematic : it may well be that definitions which are intended for use on a large scale are unworkable because of the individualised nature of the phenomenon.

In sum, an acknowledgement of the difficulties at a legislative level, apparent in both England and the United States, shows that terminology and definition are still a substantial problem. Even taking into account national legislation in special education, it appears to be impossible to compare disruptive students in one country with those in another on the basis of 'official' (ie. LEA or School Board) descriptors. On the basis of the arguments outlined in this Chapter so far, it may also be impossible to make regional comparisons of the phenomenon (129).

In order that this discussion can proceed to establish a definitional premise around which the subsequent comparative research can take place, it therefore appears sensible to concede to the inconsistencies that exist in (apparently) definitive terminology used at a national level. At the same time it has been essential that this overview should acknowledge some of the important philosophical underpinnings of this confusion. Awareness of these enable the process of formulating a definition of the term 'disruptive student', workable in a trans-Atlantic context, to take place.

## **v. The Role of Ecosystemic Theory in Definition.**

In order that the tensions existent in definition can be mediated, a number of theorists have proposed an ecosystemic approach towards establishing a definition of the disruptive student (130). The theoretical basis for this approach has been discussed earlier in this study, when the notion of an ecosystem of causes was introduced (131). The present section seeks to accommodate a number of attributes of the ecosystemic orientation, as previously outlined, within a definition of the term 'disruptive student'. By doing this, a workable definition for use in a comparative case-study research can be formulated.

Ecosystemic theory sees disruptive behaviour as the result of the interaction between the student and his environment, and regards the student's behaviour as only one part of a much larger problem issue (132). It therefore stresses the importance of examining the disruptive student's 'life-space', or whole environment, for possible explanations of the problems that the student is experiencing (133). It has been noted that this approach to an understanding of human behaviour in its broadest sense was popularised by Bronfenbrenner (134) in the United States, and subsequently used in a variety of professional contexts (135).

In England, Cooper and Upton (136) acknowledged that an ecosystemic approach to understanding behaviour problems in schools has, 'with few exceptions largely been ignored by educators' (137). Thus, whilst some authors have indicated the potential of ecosystemic theory in helping to establish a more satisfactory working definition of the disruptive student, there is 'little evidence that they have had any impact on school practice in this country' (138). Importantly, however, Cooper and Upton imply that a suitable definition for such problems may be sought using an ecosystemic perspective. They noted some movement towards a belief that 'emotional and behavioural problems in schools can be seen as the product of environmental influences' (139).

In the United States, Pellegrini (140) indicated that 'the (ecosystemic) approach to the study of behaviour in context has a long and interesting history' (141). Within this he identified the central role of Bronfenbrenner, to whom substantial reference has already been made (142). Implicit in Bronfenbrenner's interpretation is the belief that behaviour in context requires a definition in context. The ecosystemic interpretation, which is conceptually very broad, acknowledges that both internal and external forces are at work on the 'individual reality' of the student. Both, therefore, need to be acknowledged in establishing a suitable definition. Again, the theory suggests a contextual basis for a definition.

There are three factors which can be drawn from this rationale which may help in the search for an effective definition. Firstly, that each student is an inseparable part of a small social system (143). Secondly, that any 'disturbance' or 'disruption' is not seen as within the student, but rather representative of a discordance within the system to which the student belongs (144). Finally, this discordance is indicated by a 'failure to match' between the student and the system, where the student/system interaction causes disruption (145).

In these terms, the definition of a disruptive student may be postulated as follows. In the first instance, if it is acknowledged that the student belongs to a specific social system (from micro- through to macro-), then both the responses of that student to his surroundings and the responses of significant adults and peers to that student have to be taken into account when establishing a definition.

It may be suggested, therefore, that as disruptive students are mainly to be found in urban schools (146), and that their behaviours occur in particular temporal and spatial contexts within such schools, it is to those individuals who are most involved with the management of disruptive students within the social-system of the school from which a definition of the term may best be sought (147). The importance of teacher perception in defining the disruptive student within a specific school eco-system is, therefore, emphasised. But it is likely that no single definition of what constitutes a disruptive student will be acceptable to all teachers working in the same establishment (148). Some theorising may need to be done, therefore, on examining the process by which individual teachers label their students as disruptive (149).

A second, supporting, consideration to this argument is that if disruption is not to be seen as an entirely 'within-student' phenomenon, where specific categories can be applied, and where little variation exists between one disruptive student and the next, it follows that other elements within the ecosystem have to be considered in order to provide evidence of a differential attitude to the term disruptive student, from one school to the next. In this respect the adopted definition needs to acknowledge that variations in definition are likely to exist from school to school, both within England and the United States and, at the same time, between the schools in England compared to those in the United States (150).

This, in turn, seems to involve issues concerning 'school-effect'. The previous Chapter has noted (151) that some schools, rather than others, are inclined to create disruption (152). This may provide some clues to the way in which the term disruptive student is conceptualised within, and between, schools. The arguments presented by researchers into the phenomenon of school-effect note clear differences between schools in a wide range of



attributes (153). In much the same way, individual schools will view problem behaviours in different ways.

In consequence of the arguments outlined above, this study proposes to adopt a locational definition for the term disruptive student. Such a definition will apply to the context of each case-study school. That similarities in definitions of the term might exist between the two schools should be regarded as incidental, though perhaps indicative of some cross-national and international themes, to this theoretical understanding. This follows the argument presented by Hargreaves, Hestor and Mellor (154), that the whole definitional problem is, in fact, a relative phenomenon :

If a deviant act is an act that breaks some rule, since rules vary between different cultures, sub-cultures and groups, acts which are deviant (i.e. which break rules) in one culture, sub-culture or group may not be deviant to another culture, sub-culture or group. (155)

Correspondingly in the United States, Sacken (156) has provided the summative view that  
The 'disruption' caused by an act of misbehaviour is not invariant. Indeed, 'disruptive acts' are essentially social constructions that will vary across schools and time. (156)

The summary argument, therefore, is that the term disruptive student should be explored in the context of the particular ecosystem which has defined it, so that its use is unique to that educational setting. For the purposes of this study, the ecosystem is represented by the two case-study schools in England and the United States. The disruptive students are those which individual teachers at the two schools in this study identify as such.

## **Conclusion.**

The substantive argument in this Chapter has been that disruptive students in England and the United States are school-students seen in a particular environmental context. The individual acts, which provide teachers and administrators with the evidence by which they are able to categorise some students as disruptive, are bound by the contexts of space and time, and are informed by the perceptions and behaviours of those individuals most closely involved.

As a result, the study will adopt a definition of what constitutes a disruptive student based upon the views of the teachers in each case study school. The methodology used to operationalise this approach is described in Chapter Eight.

Having established a theoretical definition of the term disruptive student, which is based upon an ecosystem, the study will now proceed to focus upon views of the key individuals within it. The next Chapter, therefore, will explore the historical and current considerations involved in examining the views of the disruptive students themselves.

## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE.

- (1) Kanner, J. (1962). 'Emotionally Disturbed Children : A Historical Review', Child Development, 33, pp.97-102. p.101.
- (2) See Reynolds, D. (1984). 'The school for vandals : a sociological portrait of a disaffection-prone school', in Frude, N. & Gault, H. (Eds.). Disruptive Behaviour in Schools, Chichester; John Wiley. pp.165-178.
- (3) In the case of England, the 1981 Education Act, whilst in the United States, the relevant federal legislation is Public Law 94-142. These provide the current categories of provision for students who have special educational needs.
- (4) This term was first used by Lawrence, J., Steed, D. and Young, P. (1984) Disruptive Children - Disruptive Schools ?, London; Croom-Helm.
- (5) The links between mass, compulsory schooling and special education have been traced in the United States by Sarason and Doris (1979) and in England by Tomlinson (1982). Thus, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was a pressure, in both countries, to deal with 'a body of incapable pupils' (p. 154). Mass schooling, according to Carrier (1989) 'inevitably ignored the diversity that existed among pupils' (p. 28). This contributed to the establishment of broad categories of special education. See Sarason, S. and Doris, J. (1979) Educational handicap, public policy and social history, New York; Free Press. Tomlinson, S. (1982) A Sociology of Special Education, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul. Carrier, J. (1989) 'Sociological Perspectives on Special Education', New Education, 11 (1), pp. 21-31.
- (6) Upton, G. (1983). Educating Children with Behaviour Problems, Cardiff; University, Faculty of Education, Cardiff.
- (7) Ibid. p 23.
- (8) Rutter, M., Tizard, J. and Whitmore, K. (1970). Education, Health and Behaviour, London; Longman.
- (9) Op.cit.
- (10) See Carrier, J. (1984) 'Comparative Special Education : Ideology, Differentiation and Allocation in England and the United States', in Barton, L. and Tomlinson, S. (1984) Special Education and Social Interests, Beckenham; Croom-Helm. pp. 47-48.
- (11) See Bart, D. (1984) 'The Differential Diagnosis of Special Education : Managing Social Pathology as Individual Disability', in Barton, L. and Tomlinson, S. (Eds.) (op.cit.), pp. 81-121.
- (12) As Tomlinson, S. (1982) indicates, 'As a profession, they have considerable freedom to make idiosyncratic decisions'. See Tomlinson, S. (1982) (op.cit.), p. 100.
- (13) Ibid. p. 100.
- (14) Goacher, B., Evans, J., Welton, J. and Wedell, K. (1988) Policy and Provision for Special Educational Needs : Implementing the 1981 Education Act, London; Cassell.
- (15) Hobbs, N. (1975). The Futures of Children, San Francisco; Jossey-Bass.
- (16) Raiser, L. & Van Nagel, C. (1980). 'The Loophole in Public Law 94-142' Exceptional Children, 46 (7), pp. 516-520.
- (17) Haring, N. (1987). Assessing and Managing Behavior Disabilities, University of Washington; Seattle.
- (18) Hobbs, (op.cit.). p. 127.
- (19) Grosenick, J. & Huntze, S. (1980). National Needs Analysis in Behavior Disorders, Columbia; University of Missouri.
- (20) Although PL 94-142 excludes students who are termed 'socially maladjusted' unless it can be determined that they are also seriously emotionally disturbed, there remains a view that many such terms can be used interchangeably. See, for example, Epstein, M., Cullinan, D. and Sabatino, D. (1977). 'State Definitions of Behaviour Disorders', Journal of Special Education, 11 (4), pp 417-25.
- (21) This problem is apparent in both England and the United States. A commentary on the position in England is contained in Ford, J., Mongon, D. & Whelan, M. (1982). Special Education and Social Control, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp.164-66. The situation in the United States is sketched by Epstein et.al. (op.cit.).

- (22) Clarizio, H. (1987) 'Differentiating Emotionally Impaired from Socially Maladjusted Students', Psychology in the Schools, 24, pp. 237-243.
- (23) Ibid. p. 237.
- (24) Lawrence, J., Steed, D. & Young, P. (1987) 'Defining and Understanding Disruption', in Cohen, L. & Cohen, A. (Eds.) (1987) Disruptive Behaviour : A Sourcebook for Teachers, London; Harper & Row.
- (25) Ibid. p. 17.
- (26) This is discussed at length by Pellegrini, A. (1991). Applied Child Study : A Developmental Approach, Hillsdale; Erlbaum. pp.17-36.
- (27) Clarke, R. & Cornish, D. (1978) 'The effectiveness of residential treatment for delinquents', in Hersov, L., Berger, M. & Schaffer, D. (Eds.) (1978) Aggression and Anti-social Behaviour in Childhood and Adolescence, Oxford; Pergamon.
- (28) The subjective categorisation of so-called disruptive students is illustrated in Galloway, D. (1985) Schools, pupils and Special Educational Needs, Beckenham; Croom Helm.
- (29) For example by Evans (1981) and Lawrence, Steed and Young (1984). See Evans, M. (1981) Disruptive Pupils, London; Schools Council, and Lawrence, J., Steed, D. and Young, P. (1984). (op.cit).
- (30) For example by Furlong (1985), in Furlong, V. (1985) The Deviant Pupil, Milton Keynes; Open University Press.
- (31) Bird, C., Chessum, R., Furlong, V. and Johnson, D. (1981) Disaffected Pupils, Uxbridge; Brunel University Press.
- (32) Cumbria County Council (1976). No Small Change : The Report of a Working Party on Problem Children in Schools, Carlisle; Cumbria Education Committee
- (33) Carnell, C.(1983) 'Disturbed Pupils Perception of the Personality Characteristics of their Teachers', Maladjustment & Therapeutic Education, 1 (1), pp.22-25; Dawson, R. (1984). 'Disturbed Pupils Perception of their Teachers Support and Strictness', Maladjustment & Therapeutic Education, 2 (2),24-7; Lubbe, T. (1986). 'Some Disturbed Pupils' Perceptions of their Teachers', Maladjustment & Therapeutic Education, 4 (1), pp.29-35. The phrase 'disturbed and disturbing' is now accepted as a catch-all title for problematic issues in the field (for example, 'Disturbed & Disturbing Children', a named module within one Institute's INSET programme : see WLIHE (1991) Modular Course Handbook, Twickenham; WLIHE.
- (34) Montgomery, D. (1989) Managing Behaviour Problems, London; Hodder and Stoughton. p. 7.
- (35) Braaten, S.(1979). 'The Madison Program : Programming for Secondary Level Severely Emotionally Disturbed Youth', Behavioral Disorders, 4 (2), pp.153-162; Bell, J. (1979) 'Our Needs and Other Ecological Concerns : A Teacher's Personal View of working with Secondary School-Aged Seriously Emotionally Disturbed Children', Behavioral Disorders, 4 (3), pp.168-172; Schmid, R., Algozzine, B., Maher, M. & Wells, D. (1984). 'Teaching Emotionally Disturbed Adolescents : A Study of Selected Teacher and Teaching Characteristics', Behavioral Disorders, 9 (2), pp.105-112. The two sets of examples, from England and the United States, illustrate the point that professionals concerned with special education, and writing for journals with particular ideologies and editorial outlook, are inclined to define problematic youth in ways which subscribe to those ideologies.
- (36) Toker, M. & Hoeltke, G. (1978) Pilot Models for Mainstreaming Secondary Students who are Mild to Moderately Behaviourally Disordered, Lincoln; Nebraska State Education Department; Smith, C., Frank, A. & Snider, B. (1984). 'School Psychologists' & Teachers' Perceptions of Data used in the Identification of Behaviorally Disabled Students', Behavior Disorders, 10 (1), pp.27-32.
- (37) Algozzine, B. (1980). 'The Disturbing Child : A Matter of Opinion' Behavior Disorders, 5 (2), pp.112-115; Kauffman, J. (1980) 'Where Special Education for Disturbed Children is Going : A Personal View', Exceptional Children, 46 (1), pp.522-527.
- (38) Lewin, P., Nelson, R. & Tollefson, N. (1983). 'Teachers' Attitudes toward Disruptive Students', Elementary School Guidance and Counselling, 17 (1), pp.188-193.

- (39) Kedar-Voivodas, G. & Tannenbaum, A. (1979) 'Teachers' Attitudes Toward Young Deviant Children', Journal of Educational Psychology, 71 (6), pp.800-808.
- (40) Carroll, J., Katz, S., Waters, C. & Zaremba, S. (1979). 'An Effective Model for Mainstreaming Emotionally Impaired Students'. Paper presented to Annual Convention of Council for Exceptional Children, (ERIC. 153-406).
- (41) Federal Law PL 94-142, The Education of All Handicapped Children Act. Issues relating to the use of definitions in this are discussed in Skrtic, T. (1991) 'The Special Education Paradox : Equity as the Way to Excellence', Harvard Educational Review, 61 (2), pp. 148-206.
- (42) Constitutional aspects of PL 94-142 are considered by Vernon, M. (1981) 'Education's "Three Mile Island" : PL 94-142', Peabody Journal of Education, 59 (1), pp. 24-29.
- (43) De Ridder, L. (1990). 'The Impact of School Suspension and Expulsion on Dropping Out', Educational Horizons, 68 (3) pp.153-55.
- (44) Beck, L. & Muia, J. (1980) 'The Portrait of a Tragedy : Research Findings on the Drop Out', High School Journal, 67, November.
- (45) De Ridder, (op.cit.). p. 155.
- (46) Topping, K. (1983) Educational Systems for Disruptive Adolescents, Beckenham; Croom Helm.
- (47) Docking, J. (1987) Control and Discipline in Schools, London; Harper & Row. p. 32.
- (48) See for example Cleveland Education Authority (1978) Disruptive and Violent Behaviour in Schools, Middlesborough; Cleveland LEA. O'Hagan F. & Edmunds, G.(1982) 'Pupils' attitudes towards teachers' strategies for controlling disruptive behaviour', British Journal of Educational Psychology, 52 (2), pp. 331-340. Frude, N. & Gault, H. (Eds.). (1984). Disruptive Behaviour in Schools, Chichester; Wiley.
- (49) Upton, G. (1983) (op.cit.). and Kyriacou, C. & Roe, H. (1988). 'Teachers' Perceptions of Pupils' Behaviour Problems at a Comprehensive School', British Educational Research Journal, 14 (2), pp.167-173. are two examples.
- (50) Schostak, J. (1983) Maladjusted Schooling, Lewes; Falmer. Shuttleworth, R. (1983). 'Wheels within Wheels : A Systems Approach to Maladjustment', Maladjustment & Therapeutic Education, 1 (2), pp.32- 40.
- (51) Barnsley Special Education Team (1981) 'A Team Approach to Disruption' Special Education : Forward Trends, 8 (1), pp.8-10.
- (52) Edelbrock, C (1979). 'Empirical Classification of Childrens' Behavior Disorders : Progress based on Parent and Teacher Ratings', School Psychology Digest, 8 (4), pp.355-369. Epstein, M. et.al. (1977) (op.cit.). Grosenick, J. & Huntze, S. (1980). (op.cit.). Cullinan, D., Epstein, M. & Kauffman, J. (1984) 'Teachers' Ratings of Students' Behaviors : What constitutes Behavior Disorder in School?', Behavior Disorders, 10 (1), pp.9-19. McGinnis, E., Kiraly, J. & Smith, C. (1984) 'The Types of Data used in identifying Public School Students as Behaviorally Disordered', Behavior Disorders, 4 (2), pp. 239-46.
- (53) Rubin, R. & Balow, B. (1978) 'Prevalence of Teacher Identified Behavior Problems : a longitudinal study', Exceptional Children, 45, pp.102-13., and Vidoni, D., Fleming, N. & Mintz, S. (1983) 'Behavior Problems of Children as Perceived by Teachers, Mental Health Professionals and Children', Psychology in the Schools, 20, pp.93-98.
- (54) Haring, N. (1987) (op.cit.), p. 43.
- (55) Apter, S. & Conoley, J (1984) Childhood Behavior Disorders and Emotional Disturbance, Englewood Cliffs; Prentice Hall.
- (56) According to Bart (1984) this has 'enjoyed longstanding and continued popularity in special education' (p.88) : see Bart, D. (1984) 'The Differential diagnosis of Special Education : Managing Social Pathology as Individual Disability', in Tomlinson, S. & Barton, L. (1984) (op. cit.). In England the medical model, concentrating upon an 'individual pathology' and a within-student explanation has remained a dominant theme up until the early 1980's : Tattum gives a commentary on the development of this situation in Tattum, D. (1985) 'Disruptive Pupil Behaviour : a Sociological Perspective', Maladjustment and Therapeutic Education, 3 (2), Summer. pp. 12-18

- (57) Epstein, M., Cullinan, D. and Sabatino, D. (1977) (op.cit.) pp. 417- 425. (p. 417); Todman, J., Justice, S. and Swanson, I. (1991) 'Disruptiveness and Referral to the Educational Psychology Service', Educational Psychology in Practice, 6 (4), pp. 199-209.
- (58) Topping (1983) comments that 'it seems more reasonable to expect them to be disruptive only in some lessons, with some teachers, in some situations, in some groups, in some kind of provision -but not others' Topping, K. (1983) (op.cit.) (p.13). This supports the substantive argument advanced in this chapter for a 'locational definition', in both the English and United States research sites.
- (59) The inference made here is that English theoreticians and practitioners have been more inclined than their counterparts in the United States to use phrases (as in 'disruptive' or 'disturbed') as descriptors of the students themselves, rather than actual behaviours.
- (60) PL 94-142 is far more specific concerning individual behaviours which constitute its categories. This specificity was enshrined in subsequent State legislation : see, for example, Wood, F., Smith, C. and Grimes, J. (1985) The Iowa Assessment Model in Behavioral Disorders : A Training Manual, Des Moines; Department of Public Instruction.
- (61) Lawrence, J., Steed, D. & Young, P. (1977) Disruptive Behaviour in a Secondary School Beckenham; Croom Helm
- (62) This is discussed in Chapter Six, section ii.
- (63) Docking, J. (1987) (op.cit.), p. 106.
- (64) Ibid. p. 104.
- (65) Coulby (1984), however, does make the distinction, as a criticism of prevailing practice. Coulby, D. (1984) 'The creation of the disruptive pupil', in Lloyd-Smith, M. (Ed.) (1984) Disrupted Schooling, London; John Murray. pp. 98-119.
- (66) Docking, J. (1987) (op.cit.), p. 104.
- (67) This debate is summarised by Newcomer, P. (1980) Understanding and Teaching Emotionally Disturbed Children, Boston; Allyn & Bacon. pp.12-17.
- (68) Thus Coulby, D. (1984) (op.cit.) argues that the term 'disruptive pupil' is 'created' by such provision. p. 99.
- (69) The concept of institutionalisation has been explored in a general sense by Goffman, E. (1961) Asylums : Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates, New York; Doubleday.
- (70) Alachua County Schools (1975) Programs for the Emotionally Disturbed : A Handbook of Guidelines and Evaluative Data on Five Instructional Models 1974-75, Gainesville; Alachua County Schools. Liverpool Education Committee (1974) The Suspended Child : Teachers Advisory Committee Report, Liverpool; Liverpool Education Committee. Both reports make the point that students assigned to alternative provision tend to model their behaviour on that of their immediate (i.e. disruptive) peers.
- (71) This is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.
- (72) Epstein M, et.al. (1977) (op.cit.)
- (73) Recognised in part by the differential statementing procedures adopted by LEA's in England : see Evans, J., Goacher, B., Wedell, K. & Welton, J. (1989) 'The Implementation of the 1981 Education Act', in Jones, N.(Ed.) (1989) Special Educational Needs Review Vol 1, Lewes; Falmer. pp. 35-49.
- (74) Clarizio, H. (1987) (op.cit.).
- (75) See Chapter Three.
- (76) Demonstrated, for example, in Rutter, M., Maughan, B., Mortimore, P. and Ouston, J. (1979) Fifteen Thousand Hours, London; Open Books.
- (77) i.e. locational: see section vi of this Chapter
- (78) Lawrence, J., Steed, D., Young, P. with Hilton, G. (1981) Dialogue on Disruptive Behaviour : A Study of a Secondary School London; PJP.
- (79) See, for example, Tacoma Public Schools (1987) Guidelines for Differentiating Between Students with Problem Behaviors and Students with Serious Behavioural Disabilities, Tacoma; Tacoma Public Schools.
- (80) Hargreaves, D., Hester, J. & Mellor, F. (1975) Deviance in Classrooms London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (81) Ibid. p. 67.
- (82) McDermott (1984)
- (83) Saunders, M. (1979) Class Control and Behaviour Problems, Maidenhead;

McGraw-Hill.

(84) Ibid. p.63.

(85) Kedar-Voivodas, G. and Tannenbaum, A. (1979) (op. cit.), p. 800.

(86) This is discussed in Chapter Six, section ii.

(87) Rhodes, W. & Hobbs, N. (1978) Educating Children with Behavior Problems, New York; Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

(88) Ibid. p. 237.

(89) Kauffman, J. (1984) 'Educating Children with Behavior Disorders', Special Education, pp. 249-70. (p.266)

(90) In England the social policy question is considered in detail by Tomlinson in Barton, L. & Tomlinson, S. (1981) Special Education : Policy Practices and Social Issues, London; Harper & Row. pp.194-211.

(91) Carrier, J. (1989) (op.cit.), pp. 24-27.

(92) Ibid. p. 27.

(93) Rubel, R. (1977) The Unruly School : Disorders, Disruptions and Crimes Lexington; Heath and Company.

(94) Op.cit. p. 47.

(95) Herbert (1977) Troublesome Youth in Schools New York; Sage.

(96) Thus, Furlong (1984) suggests that 'This "external" analysis of interaction is inadequate, because it misses the main point, that participants have to build their own respective lines of conduct as they go along. They must continually interpret each others' actions and therefore continually "redefine" the situation for themselves'. See Furlong, V. (1984) 'Interaction sets in the classroom : towards a study of pupil knowledge', in Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. (Eds.) (1984) Life in School, Milton Keynes; Open University Press. pp. 145- 160. (p. 147).

(97) See section v. of the present Chapter.

(98) Exemplified, for example by 'Improving the Quality of Schooling' : conference at Nene College, Northampton, 1986).

(99) Edmonds, R. (1979) 'Effective schools for the Urban Poor', Educational Leadership, 37, pp. 15-24.

(100) Clift, P. (1987) 'LEA Initiated School-Based Review in England and Wales', in Bollen, R. and Hopkins, D. (Eds.) (1987) School-Based Review : Towards a Praxis, Leuven; ACCO. Young, R. (1989) 'Development of Effective Schools : A Process for an Effective School Model', in Creemers, B., Peters, T. and Reynolds, D. (Eds.) (1989) School Effectiveness and School Improvement, Amsterdam; Swets and Zeitlinger. pp. 331-354.

(101) The major legislation in this respect has already been referred to. The definitional implications of these are discussed in detail by Fulcher, G. (1989) Disabling Policies ?, Lewes; Falmer.

(102) Public Law 94-142 (Education for All Handicapped Children Act) 94th. Congress, November 29, 1975.

(103) Department of Education and Science (1981) Elizabeth II Ch. 60, Education Act. London; HMSO.

(104) Epstein et.al. (1977) (op.cit.) and Evans et.al.(1989) (op.cit.) outlined some of this subjectivity

(105) This confusion is expressed by Smith (1990) in England and by Clarizio (1987) in the United States. See Smith, C. (1990) 'The Management of Children with Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties in Ordinary and Special Schools', in Varma, V. (Ed.) The Management of Children with Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties, London; Routledge. Clarizio, H. (1987) (op. cit.).

(106) Washington State Definition (WAC 392-171-386), Washington Administrative Code, 1991. Olympia; State of Washington.

(107) Gile (1985) comments that 'there has been confusion within the educational community over designations and categories....DSM III(\*) has not cleared up confusion between educators and clinical mental health professionals' (\* The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental disorders, 1980) See Gile, L. (1985) 'Characteristics of Behaviorally Disordered Youth' in Wood, F., Smith, C. & Grimes, J. (1985) (op. cit.).

(108) Kauffman, J. (1985) Educating Children with Behavior Disorders, New York; Sage.

- (109)Ibid. p. 259.
- (110)Raiser, L. & Van Nagel, C. (1980) 'The Loophole in Public Law 94-142' Exceptional Children, 46 (7), pp.516-20.
- (111) Ibid. pp. 518.
- (112)Evans, J. et. al. (1989) (op. cit.); Clarizio, H. (1977) (op. cit.).
- (113)Wood, J. et. al. (1985) (op. cit.).
- (114)Ibid. p. 22.
- (115)Department of Education and Science (1978) Special Educational Needs, (The Warnock Report) London; HMSO
- (116)As Tomlinson (1982) points out '...the resultant referral, assessment, labelling and diagnosing, is related to the wider social structure, to processes of social and cultural reproduction, and to the ideologies and rationalisations which are produced, to mystify the participants, and often, to perplex the practitioners': see Tomlinson, S. (1982) A Sociology of Special Education, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul, (p.25).
- (117)Department of Education and Science (1983) Circular 1/83, London; HMSO.
- (118)Ibid. para 15.
- (119)Tattum, D. (1989) 'Violent, Aggressive and Disruptive Behaviour', in Jones, N. (Ed.) (op. cit.). pp. 130-156. (p. 134).
- (120)Galloway, D. (1985). Schools, Pupils and Special Educational Needs, Beckenham; Croom Helm.
- (121)Ibid. p.30.
- (122)Topping, K. (1983) Educational Systems for Disruptive Adolescents, Beckenham; Croom-Helm. pp. 35-47.
- (123)Ibid. p. 36.
- (124)Reinert, H. (1980) Children in Conflict, St.Louis; Mosby.
- (125)Ibid. p.76.
- (126)Tattum, D. (1985) 'Disruptive pupil behaviour : A sociological perspective', Maladjustment and Therapeutic Education, 3 (1), pp.12-18.
- (127)In Ford, J., Mongon, D. and Whelan, M.(1982) Special Education and Social Control, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul (England) and Apter, S. (1982) Troubled Children, Troubled Systems New York; Pergamon (United States)
- (128)Evans, J. et.al. (1989) (op.cit.); Clarizio, H. (1977) (op.cit.).
- (129)In that the official definitions of a disruptive student in both England and the United States remain generalities, open to the individual interpretations of professionals.
- (130)Two recent examples of this are Upton, G. & Cooper, P. (1990) 'A New Perspective on Behaviour Problems in Schools : The Ecosystemic Approach', Maladjustment and Therapeutic Education, 8 (1), pp. 3-18 (England) and Amatea, E.(1988) 'Brief systemic interventions with school behavior', Psychology in the Schools, 25 (2), pp.174-183 (United States).
- (131)See Chapter Four, section i.
- (132)Apter (1982) op.cit. states that 'According to the ecological model disturbance resides in the interactions between a child and critical aspects of that child's environment', (p.58).
- (133)The concept of 'life space', used in the understanding of human behaviour, was first developed by Lewin. See Lewin, K. (1954) 'Behavior and development as a function of the total situation', in Carmichael, L. (Ed.) Manual of Child Psychology, New York; Wiley. pp. 918-970.
- (134)Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) The Ecology of Human Development, Cambridge; Harvard University Press.
- (135)Notably in social and health care programmes, but more recently in education. See Germain, C. (1973) 'An ecological perspective in casework practice', Social Casework, 54, pp. 323-330.
- (136)Cooper, P. and Upton, G. (1991) 'Controlling the urge to control : An ecosystemic approach to problem behaviour in schools', Support for Learning, 6 (1), pp.22-26.
- (137)Ibid. p.22.
- (138)Ibid. p.26.
- (139)Ibid. p.25.
- (140)Pellegrini, A. (1991) Applied Child Study : A Developmental Approach, Erlbaum; Hillsdale.



- (141)Ibid. p.18.
- (142)Ibid. p.31-34.
- (143)Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) (op.cit.), p.21.
- (144)Ibid. p.22.
- (145)Ibid. p.25.
- (146)As discussed in Chapter Three.
- (147)There is now a considerable body of research on teachers' perceptions of problem behaviour. Two illustrations of this are Kyriacou, C. and Roe, H. (1988) 'Teachers' Perceptions of Pupils' Behaviour Problems at a Comprehensive School', British Educational Research Journal, 14 (2), pp. 167-173, and Safran, S. and Safran, P. (1985) 'Classroom Context and Teachers' Perceptions of Problem Behaviours', Journal of Educational Psychology, 77 (1), pp.20-28.
- (148)Kyriacou, C. and Roe, H. (op.cit.), p.172.
- (149)This issue will be dealt with in Chapter Six, section ii.
- (150)Kyriacou, C. and Roe, H. (op.cit). The authors state that 'There appears to be a marked school experience effect on teachers' perceptions'. (p.172).
- (151)See Chapter Four ii (b).
- (152)Maxwell (1987) points out that ' the measurement of staff attitudes and beliefs relevant to the issue of disruptive behaviour would provide a more direct route to understanding the fundamental differences between 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' schools', Maxwell, W.(1987) 'Teachers' Attitudes Towards Disruptive Behaviour in Secondary Schools', Educational Review , 39 (3), pp. 203-216. (p.213).
- There is now a substantial body of research literature on 'school effect'. This is discussed in Chapter Six. Within this the view that differences both within schools and between them in the way that student behaviour is interpreted is acknowledged. This issue is articulated by Lawrence, J., Steed, D. & Young, P. (1984), (op.cit.).
- (153)Teddle, C., Stringfield, S., Wimpelburg, R. and Kirby, P. (1989) 'Contextual Differences in Models for Effective Schooling in the USA', in Creemers, B. et.al. (Eds.) (1989) (op.cit.).
- (154)Hargreaves, D., Hester, S. & Mellor, F. (1975) Deviance in Classrooms, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (155)Ibid.
- (156)Sacken, D. (1989) 'Due Process and Democracy. Participation in School Disciplinary Processes', Urban Education, 23 (4), January. pp.327-347.
- (157)Ibid. p.343.

## CHAPTER SIX : THE INDIVIDUAL REALITY OF THE DISRUPTIVE STUDENT.

"Whats wrong with schools ? Ask the kids". (1)

### **Introduction.**

Three previous Chapters of this study have referred to the ecosystemic interpretation of the phenomenon of the disruptive student in schools. Chapter Three identified urban schools in England and the United States as the main location for such students. This enabled an argument to be developed, in Chapter Four, that many of the educational characteristics drawn from the ecology of this particular spatial location have contributed to the creation of a category of school-student referred to as disruptive. Chapter Five subsumed location and causal ecology into a definition of the term, based upon specific urban school contexts. Each of these preceding chapters has identified, at various points, the interrelationships between context, cause and definition. Moreover it has been briefly acknowledged that the views of disruptive students, who theorists regard as a central focus of their own ecosystem (2), have not traditionally been the subject of substantial research (3). This Chapter will examine these issues from a number of perspectives.

The Chapter will firstly it demonstrate, by reference to the literature, that the views of disruptive students in England and the United States have traditionally been infrequently acknowledged when researching the phenomenon. This will be achieved by indicating that the literature from both countries contains little evidence of work directed towards investigating the views of disruptive students. Within this an overview of the literature relating to school-student opinion in general, from both England and the United States, will be provided. Reference will then be made to existing work dealing specifically with disruptive students' opinions. Again, the overview will indicate an absence of a substantial literature in this area.

Secondly, the Chapter will consider three elements, drawn from the ecosystem (4), in order that these might help to frame a student response to their experiences in school. These are (i) the attitude of the teacher, (ii) the concept of school effect, and (iii) the interactive effect of both (i) and (ii) on the individual student. Each of these issues will be examined, and their importance to the individual experience of the disruptive student will be noted.

Within the overall context of the study the notion of an individual reality will be considered from a non-quantitative way : the argument will be made that what the disruptive students actually 'say' about their experiences in school is fundamental to the teachers' understanding of them as individuals. In this respect, therefore, there is no attempt to define such experiences in terms of constructs or perceptions. These are the commonly used 'scientific measurements' of educational psychologists, and have been traditionally used by them in both England and the United States, as outlined in Chapter 5. These methodological issues are considered in greater detail in Chapter 7.

The theoretical arguments contained in this Chapter will enable a view of 'student reality' to be theorised. A synthesis of this view will form the basis of the final section of the Chapter. Here, ecosystemic theory, as it has been outlined in Chapters Three, Four and Five, will be theorised in relation to the 'individual reality' of disruptive students in both England and the United States, in order to indicate the importance of considering their views within the urban school ecosystem.

## **i. An Historical Overview.**

Historically the views of students who are termed disruptive have been regarded as less important than those of the professionals concerned with them (5). Thus Schostak (6), in England, was able to remark that

In general, research has not tended to focus upon the experiences of the young. Indeed, adults tend to project their own fears and fantasies upon the young rather than attempt to listen, learn and articulate understandings of what it is like to be young and on the receiving end of adult intentions. (7)

In the United States, a similar historical scenario was summarised by Bronfenbrenner, who provided the additional argument that

Much of American developmental psychology is the science of the strange behaviour of children in strange situations with strange adults. (8)

The inference to be drawn from these observations is that, as both students and adults (teachers) are equally capable of 'strange' (or disruptive) behaviour, the views of both the student and teachers regarding aspects of the school behaviours and experiences that they engage in should be accounted for on a more equal basis (9). This is of particular importance, given the interactive or transactional nature of all student behaviour, whether disruptive or not (10).

There have been a number of important contributions towards establishing why a situation should have developed within schools, in which the views of students are not fully recognised. Ball (11), for example, alerted researchers to the fact that

It is virtually impossible to find sociological accounts that employ the words and meanings of the educated themselves, as sources of data..... (12)

In both England and the United States, education systems in general, and specifically special education, have been interpreted by many theorists as being ideologically based on the notion of dominance (13). Within this there has been an implicit, and sometimes explicit, requirement by education systems to meet the control demands of the nation state (14). This has been particularly evident in urban education systems (15).

As a consequence there has tended to be a familiar pattern within the education systems of both England and the United States. Teachers and educational administrators in both countries either adopt existing norms, or propose new ones, and then proceed to measure student progress (in this case, aspects of the disruptive student's social behaviour)

according to their own interpretations of normality (16). Because some sections of the school population are unable, or unwilling, to conform to this demand for normative behaviour, a set of tensions, between school as society and the individual world, or reality, of the student is established (17).

A number of early examples of studies of ordinary students in schools in England and the United States (18) are helpful in establishing the conceptual background for the use of student reality as a means of understanding the personal responses of disruptive students to their school experiences. In England, Blishen offered an early example of the use of student opinion, in which students were asked for their views concerning their experiences of school (19). He observed that

in all the millions of words that are written annually about education, one viewpoint is invariably absent - that of the child, the client of the school. It is difficult to think of another sphere of social activity in which the opinions of the customer are so persistently overlooked. (20)

This early example of qualitative research concerning the views of students indicated, too, that the absence of student involvement in school procedures had been noted by the students themselves :

From all quarters of the educational scene it comes, this expression of childrens' longing to take upon themselves some of the burden of deciding what should be learnt, how it should be learnt.... (21)

In the United States, at about the same time, the Association of Supervision and Curriculum commissioned a national survey on student attitude (22), and this supported, in a more systematic way, the belief that school-students wished for more participation in school procedures (23). Later, De Cecco & Richards (24) interviewed about 1500 students in urban and suburban schools on the west coast of the United States. The authors, commenting on their research data, suggested that

Of all the injustices students felt.....the most frequent was their exclusion from the decision making process in their own schools and their subjection to rules they could not help to form, change or enforce. (25)

The examples outlined above tended, however, to be isolated illustrations of the use of student opinion in educational research, and the tradition of asking students what they thought of schooling was not easily established. Researchers and educational practitioners raised both methodological and ethical arguments against the validity of such student responses (26). This may have been partly on account of the hierarchical nature of

traditional education systems in both England and the United States, which, it has been suggested earlier, have well-developed ideological traditions of dominance. The view of Rist (27) is illustrative of this ideology. He regarded American schools as bureaucratic, authoritarian, custodial and hierarchical (28). Halsey's analysis (29) is indicative of a similar conceptualisation of the situation in England.

The period from the late-1960's to the late 1970's in England and the United States marked an important period of development in research techniques. During that time, increased status was given to ethnographic approaches in education, in which the students' opinions of what was happening to them came to be regarded as an important source of data. The use of this kind of research strategy became increasingly apparent in both England and the United States (30), and it will be considered in greater detail, because of its methodological importance to this study, in Chapter Seven. As a result of this development, research in schools in both countries gradually became more sensitive to the need to gather student opinion (31).

Amongst the early examples of qualitative research were a number of attempts to investigate, using the views of students as data, the experiences of disruptive students in schools in both England and the United States (32). In sum, however, the existing literature concerning disruptive students in schools, interpreted from their own perspective, has represented a relatively small proportion of the total research into the phenomenon. Studies comparing English and North American students' interpretations of what happens to them in school have been even more infrequent (33).

The present study, it has been noted (34), is an attempt to place student reality as a more central explanation for the social interactions that the disruptive student is inclined to engage in whilst in school (35), and to do this from a comparative perspective. By attempting this, the role of the student within the educational ecosystem to which he belongs may be illustrated and the parallel issue of student advocacy in England and the United States, which underpin this ecosystemic activity, can be highlighted.

In order that this task might be accomplished, Chapter Four and Chapter Five have outlined a range of possible explanations for the existence of the disruptive student in schools in England and the United States (36), and developed a definition based upon context (37). In doing this, a number of cross-national themes were identified, and the position, within these explanations, of the personal actions and interpretations of the students themselves was outlined. Such critiques have invariably excluded a consideration of the views of disruptive students.

Moreover the focal point of the ecosystem was theorised to be the individual experience of the disruptive student, as witnessed by that student. Three elements drawn from the causal ecology of the disruptive student, outlined in Chapter Four appear to be significant in affecting the student's functioning within the school system : the response of teachers, the notion of 'school effect' and finally, and most importantly, the views of the disruptive student in the light of both of these. Each of these will be considered in turn in the next three sections of the Chapter.

## **ii. The Response of Teachers.**

This section of the Chapter examines the view that, traditionally, teachers have tended to develop certain expectations concerning the learning and social behaviours of their students. The importance of this, in a study which explores the phenomenon of the disruptive student from an ecosystemic perspective, is that the teacher forms the most important interface between the students and the education systems of which they are a part (38). Some understanding of the process by which teachers develop particular viewpoints regarding disruptive students is important, therefore, because of the interactive nature of their contacts.

Rosenthal & Jacobsen (39) and Rist (40), in the United States, were among the first researchers to alert educationists to the differential attitude of teachers towards their students, based upon certain student characteristics (41). Although Rosenthal & Jacobsen were subsequently criticised, because of apparent methodological flaws in their research (42), their work did help to promote an awareness of the concept of teacher expectation in both England and the United States (43).

This, in turn, encouraged an increasingly widespread debate on the function of labelling within special education in both countries (44). Some theorists, for example, regarded labelling as an integral part of the process of providing special education services (45). As a result, labelling came to be seen as part of a self-fulfilling prophecy, whereby students with non-clinical conditions could be ascertained as disruptive, depending upon the attitudes and beliefs of teachers and administrators within a school. To summarise Rosenthal & Jacobsen's analysis, the self-fulfilling prophecy may be described as

...how one person's expectation for another person's  
behavior can quite unwittingly become a more accurate  
prediction simply for its having been made. (46)

Perhaps because of the early influence of Rosenthal & Jacobsen there now appears to be an extensive research tradition, in the United States, of research concerning teacher expectation (47). A number of important examples exist, in the field of special education in that country, to illustrate the point. Foster, Ysseldyke & Reese (48), for example, replicated some of the original research and were able to suggest that  
teacher trainees have preconceived stereotypical  
expectancies about the behavior of emotionally  
disturbed children. (49)

Algozzine, Mercer & Countermine (50) also confirmed the effect of labels on teacher expectation as also did Rubel (51). Kedar-Voivodas & Tannenbaum (52) sampled 256 elementary school teachers and suggested that 'acting-out' behaviours were viewed more negatively than were withdrawn ones :

.....expectations are formalized in the pupil role,  
a role requiring the children to be docile, receptive,  
conforming and manageable rather than assertive,  
independent and active. It becomes apparent that  
acting-out behaviors are in violation of pupil-role. (53)

Relative to this point, it should be noted that acting-out behaviour is generally categorised by teachers as disruptive behaviour, whereas withdrawn behaviour is not (54).

Teachers' attitudes have also been explored by a number of other researchers, in connection with the general term 'problem behaviours' (55). Here, the difficulty of differential interpretation of terminology remained apparent, with variations occurring according to individual perception and according to the situation-specificity of the behaviour. Such difficulties, nevertheless, offer further support the locational definition for the term disruptive student, which has been argued in the previous Chapter.

In other research in the United States, Algozzine (56) factor-analysed teacher ratings of behaviours and indicated four clusters of 'disturbingness' : general social immaturity, motorically restless, socialised delinquency and socialised defiance. The latter was regarded as least tolerable (57). Safran & Safran (58) also identified low-tolerance classroom behaviours, and offered research evidence to suggest that  
the most disturbing behaviors are outer-directed  
or disruptive (i.e. negative aggressive, poor peer-  
cooperation). (59)

The United States, therefore, has had a well developed tradition of research into teacher expectation, and important examples, outlined above, illustrate the application of this type of enquiry to special education, which includes provision for disruptive students within mainstream schools.



In England, at a slightly later date, number of researchers began to explore the problem of teacher-attitudes towards disruptive students (60) as well as offering overviews of the theories of labelling and self-fulfilling prophecy (61). Subsequently, Roe (62) and Kyriacou & Roe (63) provided similar research evidence to that of Algozzine (64) in the United States. This suggested that disruptive behaviour tends to be regarded far more seriously than excessive shyness or stealing. Kyriacou & Roe also noted a 'school experience effect', where teacher attitudes vary according to their own educational experiences, a point previously made in Chapter Five of this study, in connection with the background and experiences of those who categorise students as disruptive (65).

Maxwell (66) surveyed six secondary schools to establish the attitudes of senior staff to the problem of disruptive behaviour. Here, however, there was no attempt to establish a definition of what the term disruptive actually comprised. As a consequence it is difficult to compare one teacher's perception with another (67), a point already made in connection with inter-school, inter-regional or international comparisons (68). Nevertheless, Maxwell did offer some interesting insights into the problem. In particular he noted the strongly held belief amongst the sample that disruptive behaviour (however defined) is explained largely in terms of family pathology (69).

Houghton, Wheldall and Merrett (70) provided further English evidence of labelling, when a majority of a sample of 251 secondary school teachers suggested that boys rather than girls tended to be more troublesome than girls (71). In this case, however, it seemed that there was some element of justification, in that quantitative research has suggested that boys, rather than girls, are inclined to engage in disruptive behaviour in schools (72). A similar situation is demonstrated from research in the United States (73).

It is important to acknowledge that much of the research activity outlined above, in both the United States and England, investigated teacher-attitude in isolation, using mainly quantitative method. During the late 1970's and early 1980's, as a result of the growth in popularity of ethnographic techniques (74), an increasing number of researchers made use of qualitative case-study methodology to explore the interactive nature of both expectation and action on the part of both teachers and students (75). The suggestion was that the teacher's response to students in classrooms is predicated by the use of 'coping strategies', and that students, in turn, use similar devices to maintain a working equilibrium. This theme was explored by, amongst others, Hargreaves (76), Woods (77) and Pollard (78) (79) in England, and by Everhart (80) in the United States.

There are, therefore, indications in the research literature, outlined above, that the attitude of a teacher towards the disruptive student is, in one sense, conditioned by the need to arrive at what Pollard referred to as working consensus (81) :

it is most unrealistic to analyse teacher strategies or  
child strategies in isolation from each other : they are  
mutually interrelated. (82)

This is a helpful interpretation, in that it suggests that an acknowledgement by the teacher of the label 'disruptive' allows a working arrangement to be maintained with the student. In this situation the label is activated by the teacher and is then adopted, maintained and possibly reinforced by the student. Further support is, therefore, given to the interactive role of teacher and disruptive student within the ecosystem and the transactions that they engage in.

It is in the transactional area of student-teacher relationships, outlined above, that one important aspect of student reality may be considered. This is the suggestion that the disruptive student will respond to a teacher in a variety of ways on the basis of an established working relationship, which is based upon shared expectations, which that student has with his teacher. This view is supported by research at the North West Regional Educational Laboratory (NWREL) in the United States (83), which argued that

While teachers have little power to change the  
risk factors - broken homes, teen pregnancies,  
learning disabilities, physical and sexual abuse,  
poverty, drug abuse - that makes youth vulnerable  
to dropping out, they can influence students'  
feelings about being in school. (84)

An ecosystemic understanding of the relationship between teacher and student, and the school processes which involve them, would therefore seem to require an acknowledgement of the effects of this 'agreed understanding' concerning their mutual expectations of a classroom or corridor encounter. It may, therefore, be a formative element in the development of the disruptive student's individual reality (85).

This section of the Chapter has outlined some of the features of teacher expectation. Research in this area, it has suggested, has now become well-established in both England and the United States. Moreover, it has additionally argued that a teacher's response to a (disruptive) student needs to be considered as one part of a dyad, which forms an integral part of the ecosystem (86).

### iii. School Effect.

A second consideration, drawn from the causal ecosystem which was outlined in Chapter Four, is the issue of school effect. This relates to the way in which schools influence the responses of disruptive students, and the supposition that there is a relationship between different types of schools and the extent of disruptive behaviour within them. In both England and the United States there has been a shift, dating from the middle-1970's, from the view that individual students held the key to explaining their own disruptive behaviour (87). From the late-1970's to the present there has been a developing view that the school as a whole institution can provide important clues to understanding the nature of the phenomenon of the disruptive student (88).

In both England and the United States, therefore, a number of researchers have provided evidence that the collective attitude of the teachers in a school, and the overall 'ethos' of that school as an institution, may be crucial indicators of the likely extent of disruptive behaviour by students in schools (89). It may in addition be an important causal factor for the phenomenon.

The decade from 1980 to 1990 has also witnessed a sharp increase in the literature on 'effective schools' in both England and the United States, some of which relates to the way in which problem behaviour by students may inhibit the development of an effective school (90). In the United States, Brookover, Beady, Flood, Schweitzer and Wisenbaker (91) provided one early attempt at looking at the social outcomes of schooling for all students. They suggested that, contrary to earlier research (92), schools do have an effect on the social behaviours of students. Conversely, the behaviour of its students is one of the criteria by which a school may be judged as effective. School effect, it may be argued, is, like teacher perception, an interactional phenomenon.

This symbiotic relationship had been recognised by West (93) who proposed that  
the very structure of contemporary schooling  
fosters "immorality" (delinquency). (94)

whilst Cullen & Tinto (95) indicated, in somewhat Mertonian vein, that the school's restriction of the opportunity for academic success is a major source of 'discipline problems'. Similarly, a study in California (96) found that problems of school violence could be related to

ineffective school administrators, inconsistent  
disciplinary practices, oppressive school rules  
inadequate counseling, curriculum irrelevance  
and staff bigotry. (97)

Other research in the United States has offered examples of the way in which some schools may alienate students, and either force them to drop-out or to act-out their feelings by

becoming disruptive in classrooms (98). This research has suggested that schools send signals to those who are discipline problems, implicitly urging them to leave.

These studies from the United States have been paralleled by similar work on school-effect in England. Robinson, for example, (99) showed that there was an association between boredom and competition....  
....(and)...it is inevitable that there must be losers.....And what are the chronic losers to do ? (100)

One response is, of course, that some students might engage in acts of classroom and school disruption. Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore and Ouston (101) implied that differences in the levels of disruptive behaviour between schools are systematically related to the effects of schools as social institutions (i.e. to factors which were modified by the staff rather than fixed constraints on school life) (102). Subsequent to the work of Rutter et.al., a large body of literature began to develop in England on the nature of school effect (103). This parallels a similar development in the United States during the same period (104). The cumulative effect has been to confirm the view that schools do make a difference. As Rutter and his colleagues have summarised :

we found that these variations in outcome were systematically and strongly associated with the characteristics of schools as social institutions. (105)

Amongst the work on the differential effect of schools on students in general in England and the United States there is now a significant body of literature concerning their effect on disruptive students per se. Much of this work confirms the views, summarised above, that schools do have an effect, and particularly so upon the marginalised youth of both countries, from which disruptive students are significantly drawn (106).

It has not been the intention of this section of the Chapter to exhaustively survey the literature which has developed concerning school effect and its relationship to disruptive behaviour : this has been adequately provided elsewhere (107). What the present argument has suggested is that in both England and the United States there has been a move away from the school as a neutral backdrop, whereby student disruption was seen mainly from a within-student paradigm, or from the perspective of home and other environmental factors. What goes on in schools, their climate or ethos, have become established as important influences on the behaviour and attitudes of all students, and especially upon the responses of that group of students referred to as disruptive.

Finally, it is worth acknowledging that much of the recent literature on effective schools has used discipline as a positive indicator of what constitutes a good school (108). Whilst

this may, in one sense, be a problematic notion, in that a school can have 'discipline' (used in the traditional sense) and yet still have disruptive students, it may provide a linking theme between the ideological demands of school and society, as represented in the research paradigm of this study by the exosystem and macrosystem, and the responses of the disruptive student in the classroom and corridor (the microsystem and mesosystem). The tension between these two interpretations is an issue to which this thesis makes frequent reference.

In summary, the importance of both school effect and teacher expectation within an ecosystemic model is that they offer some clues as to the nature of the school context of the disruptive student, and its role in the formulation of that student's individual reality. Both the attitudes and interactions of the individual teacher and the collective attitudes and interactions of the whole school staff may assist in the creation of a school climate which may make that institution more, or less, inclined to produce a disruptive response from some of its students.

The third element of the ecosystem, developed in two earlier Chapters (109), is the individual reality of the disruptive student. This, it will be argued, forms the focal point of the ecosystem, in which the effects of teacher and school can be synthesised with the individual personality and demeanour of the student to produce the student reality. This is the subject of the next section of this Chapter.

#### **iv. The Views of Disruptive Students.**

The third element drawn from the ecosystemic framework concerns the attitudes and feelings of those students who have been designated as disruptive by the teachers in their schools. This section of the Chapter will provide a historical overview of research which has sought to investigate the views of those students, including those who are referred to as disruptive, who are the cause of problems in schools in England and the United States. Such an overview is a necessary precursor to the final section of the Chapter, in which the term 'student reality' is refined for use in the two case-study sites in England and the United States.

In England, Finlayson & Loughran (110) noted that 'A' stream students were more accepting of work tasks and saw their teachers as less authoritarian than 'B' stream students. Moreover, the authors indicated that students viewed teachers differently

according to whether they were in a 'high delinquency' school or a 'low delinquency' school : the former were 'the ones whose incoming pupils included an unusually high number of badly behaved boys' (111).

Galway (112) and Buist (113) developed a student-based enquiry in segregated areas of special education provision. They suggested that disruptive students in discrete special education provision in England (i.e. in special schools) hold similar views to their peers in mainstream schools. Meighan (114), on the other hand, indicated that there were some differences in attitude between 'problem children' and their peers. O'Hagan & Edmunds (115) suggested that students regard 'aggressive strategies', used by teachers, to have a negative effect on teacher-student relationships. The authors also confirm the view, suggested elsewhere in this study, that boys, rather than girls, are more inclined to be 'troublesome' in class (116). Dawson (117), and Lubbe (118) all conducted research on the views of 'disturbed' students. Each illustrated differences between schools and indicated the value placed by the students on teacher-behaviour and personality.

Also in England, the experiences of students, who may have been regarded by their schools as disruptive, were described by White & Brockington (119). There was evidence, from the students' comments contained in their study, that certain teachers were regarded by the students as more significant in forming an impression concerning their recent school experiences (120). More specifically, Scarlett (121) obtained a collection of student-views concerning discipline from one high school in northern England. These suggested that a majority of students in the school regarded 'fairness and justice', 'respect' and the 'necessity for discipline' as amongst the most important characteristics of a 'good' teacher (122).

Other studies from England which deal with the disruptive students' view of school include Bird, Chessum, Furlong and Johnson (123), Tattum (124), Dawson (125) Davies (126), Sheppard (127), Schostak (128), Docking (129) and Swinson (130). Amongst the themes developed by these authors, and indicated in the parallel literature from the United States, is the view that there appears to be close agreement between disruptive students and non-categorised (non-disruptive) students as to what makes a 'good' teacher and a 'good' school (131).

In sum, therefore, it may be suggested that the English literature concerning disruptive student opinion about their school experiences is relatively recent in origin and is also relatively small in volume. Nevertheless, it does provide some evidence that the views expressed by such students are, far from being always oppositional, often supportive of

their school. Existing research in England also suggests that disruptive students have very clear views concerning the personal and professional characteristics of their teachers.

Turning to the United States, the latter point is supported by Getzels & Smilansky (132) who offered an analysis of student responses to school problems. The authors suggested some level of agreement amongst school-students :

The predominant observation regarding the content  
of problems seen by pupils is the 'unfair' and  
'uncaring' behaviour of teachers. (133)

Getzels and Smilansky also noted that problems such as unfair teachers and repressive regulations were of general concern to all students, and were independent of a student's personal or social characteristics.

Benham Tye (134) surveyed 568 High School students who were regarded as 'dissatisfied' with their school. The sample reported that a lack of 'caring attitudes' and 'attention' from their teachers were the chief reasons for student alienation from school. The two schools with the highest percentage of dissatisfied students were urban high schools.

As in England, however, the research literature regarding the viewpoints of disruptive students is of relatively recent origin (135). The examples outlined above are representative of a relatively small body of literature on the subject but indicative, nevertheless, of a developing interest in the topic in the United States.

More recent evidence that researchers in the United States were beginning to respond to the need to take account of disruptive student opinion concerning their school experiences may be taken from Stallworth, Frechtling and Frankel (136) who, in 1983, surveyed groups of students who had been suspended from high school. Their research pointed to some differences between the perceptions of students and their teachers concerning the actual reasons for student suspension. Behaviours which were viewed as wholly inappropriate by the teachers were sometimes seen as less so by the students.

Murtaugh & Zeltin (137) interviewed a sample of 60 high school students who fell into the category of 'hostile towards school'. They observed that

none showed any desire to do the work necessary  
to gain their high school diploma. These students  
regard school as a waste of time and an interference  
with the activities they most enjoyed - music, sports,  
and socialising with friends. (138)

This analysis may have some parallels with other research in the United States, which has indicated the importance of the social dimension of schooling (139). It would also seem to

suggest that such behaviour maybe compared with the 'having a laugh' of the English students described in Wood's studies from the same period (140).

As in England therefore, there is evidence that research on the views of disruptive students has increased in importance during the period from 1980 onwards. Hollingsworth, Lufner and Clune (141), for example, provided additional evidence that student opinion was becoming an important focus for studies into indiscipline in schools in the United States. Work by Fine (142), Richards (143), Richardson, Casanova, Placier and Guilfoyle (144), and Sansone & Baker (145) provides further support for this observation.

This brief survey of existing research, in England and the United States, concerning the views of disruptive students about school suggests an over-arching theme. Much of the elicited comment from disruptive students concerning their life at school relates to the nature of their relationships with one or two key figures from the school staff. From the viewpoint of student-reality, therefore, there is a suggestion that it may be the quality of the student - teacher relationship which most helps to frame the attitude of the disruptive student to his school. This, therefore, would seem to be indicative of an increasing emphasis upon the importance of the student-reality, drawn from the microsystem and mesosystem : these parts of the ecosystem place importance on teacher-student interaction. This is a key focus of the research methodology, which will be outlined in the following Chapter.

Prior to that, however, the term 'student reality' will be theorised, and a definition established for its use in the case-study schools. Both tasks will be accomplished in the following section of the Chapter.

## **v. Student Reality : A Definition and Stance.**

In considering the views of disruptive students the present study will accept a phenomenologist interpretation, which proposes that consciousness is always intentional (146). This consciousness is always directed towards identifiable 'objects'. In the case of disruptive students, the 'objects' are those drawn from the personal ecosystem of the student. Chapters Four and Five, and the preceding sections of the current Chapter, have outlined definition, cause and the views of the individual student from an ecosystemic orientation. Section iv of the present Chapter has further narrowed the focus, to suggest



that a consideration of micro-systemic and mesosystemic interactions of the disruptive student are of fundamental importance. These are the interactions which involve the disruptive student in 1:1 engagements with teachers, and in more general school encounters. Both, it has been argued, are under-researched in comparative terms.

The stance of this comparative study, based on student-reality, would support Mohanty's proposition that the (disruptive) students response to schooling would be a response to the 'consciousness of everything' (147). In this, the student responds to a range of personal events and actions, contexts and historical influences. It follows that a methodology which is sensitive to this range needs to be adopted : this is discussed in Chapter Seven.

The link between the theoretical concepts concerning disruptive students in England and the United States, discussed in previous Chapters, and the methodology to investigate student reality is an important one to make. Such methodology should be in keeping with the theoretical model, based upon the disruptive student's ecosystem, emphasised in the preceding chapters.

The theoretical principle underpinning this is that of a social construction of reality. Harre (148) has provided an important interpretation of this. He has argued that students construct social worlds within which they will create conditions for the management of its social order (149). The argument he advances is that the distinctive social worlds which are created by disruptive students are best interpreted on a Cartesian polarity. This suggests that, although 'reality' is best investigated along a subjective-objective continuum , much recent practice in the assessment, identification and provision for disruptive students has been wholly objective (ie. based upon formal psychological testing) (150). The absence of a means to incorporate the student's viewpoint, it is argued, does not permit individual student viewpoints, which comprise their social reality, to be adequately explored. Axiomatically it may be that an inability to incorporate the views of disruptive students concerning the ecosystem, of which they are the focal point, prohibits the development of effective learning strategies, which themselves are effective as one way of inhibiting disruptive behaviour (151).

Applying this argument to disruptive students in the United States and England, it is proposed that such students live in a reality which is based upon personal experience, rather than being rooted in the problematic of political or socio-economic production. Nor do such function entirely as a result of classification by others. This perspective suggests that, importantly, a consideration of an ecosystemic view of schooling, including accounts and explanations of disruptive behaviours, should initially be from the reality of the student.

Such an ecosystemic approach is based upon an assumption that each student should be viewed as a complete entity, surrounded by a unique mini-social system or 'ecosystem' (152). It has already been noted that this approach proposes that the student's reality comprises an ecological environment, comprising microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem (153). When each aspect of the student's system works together harmoniously, ecologists say that the ecosystem is 'congruent' or 'balanced'. For the disruptive student, such congruency tends not to exist between the elements of the ecosystem. Thomas and Marshall (154) summarise this interpretation

The success with which a person meets life's challenges is dependent upon his ability to reach a desired functional balance between his physical and social habitats, and himself. (155)

In other words, the ecosystemic interpretation attempts to explore a set of relationships, between the disruptive student and his environment : this is the student reality.

It is possible that, within the reality of the disruptive student, a congruence may exist as a form of cultural association with peer-group norms, rather than as a congruence with the values of schooling as perceived by teachers. This 'gap', between the disruptive student's reality and the objective world of his teachers, will provide an important focus for this comparative study, and will be examined in greater detail in Chapters Nine and Ten.

Although a number of models already exist in England and the United States which seek to place an ecosystemic interpretation on the way in which such students might best be educated (156), much of this work is based mainly upon the views of teachers and education professionals. An absence of the student's perspective is apparent. This current imbalance, it has been argued in this Chapter, cannot be justified in either methodological terms, or in terms of the developing view concerning the management potential of utilising the opinions of disruptive students in mainstream schools in England and the United States.

## **Conclusion.**

This Chapter has provided an argument for, and a broad framework within which to examine, the reality of the disruptive student in the United States and the England. A lack of a tradition of researching the viewpoints of disruptive students has been noted in the literature from both countries, and an absence of comparative work on the subject has been identified.

Finally, the concept of student reality has been explored, and a definition has been developed for subsequent use in this study. This has been done by reference to three elements drawn from the individual ecosystem of the disruptive student : the expectations of teachers and the effects of school as a whole on the student, elements of which are ultimately subsumed into what has been theorised and defined as the student reality.

The next task of this study will be to establish a set of research instruments which might adequately reflect the ecosystemic nature of student reality in a comparative context. This is the focus of Chapter Seven.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX.

- (1) Shanker, A. (1989). 'What's wrong with Schools ? Ask the kids'. American Teacher, 74 (4), p.5.
- (2) Introduction, section i.
- (3) Hammersley and Woods (1984) comment in this respect that 'Ten years ago studies of pupils' experience of school were almost a novelty... there had been very little empirical research documenting pupils' perspectives and adaptations'. See Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. (1984) Life in School, Milton Keynes; Open University Press. (p. 1).
- (4) As defined by Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) The Ecology of Human Development, Cambridge; Harvard University Press.
- (5) Thus there is no tradition, in formal or informal special education systems in England and the United States of the use of what C. Wright Mills called 'vocabularies of motives' : these are drawn upon the culture of the group in which they are located. See Mills, C. W. (1940) 'Situating actions and vocabularies of motives', American Sociological Review, 5, pp.904-13.
- (6) Schostak, J. (1983) Maladjusted Schooling, Lewes; Falmer.
- (7) Ibid. p.5.
- (8) Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) (op.cit.), p.19.
- (9) This has been a familiar theme in the so-called progressive education debates in England and the US. A prophetic summary of this was provided by Dewey (1938) : 'There is, I think, no point in the philosophy of progressive education which is sounder than its emphasis upon the importance of the participation of the learner in the formation of the purposes which direct his activities in the learning process' Dewey, J. (1938) Experience and Education, New York; Macmillan.
- (10) Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) (op.cit.), p. 16.
- (11) Ball, S. (1981) Beachside Comprehensive, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.
- (12) Ibid. p. 11.
- (13) Brechin, A. & Swain, J. (1988) 'Professional / client Relationships : creating a 'working alliance' with people with learning difficulties', Disability, Handicap and Society, 3 (3), pp. 213-226, provides an overview of this in relation to special education.
- (14) Discussed at length in Ford, J., Mongon, D., Whelan, M. (1982) Special education and Social Control : Invisible Disasters, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (15) Grace, G. (Ed.) (1984) Education and the City, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (16) Dreeben, R. (1977) provides an extended discussion of how such norms are adopted by whole institutions and then applied to the individuals within it, often with no compensation for personality differences. See Dreeben, R. (1977). 'The contribution of schooling to the learning of norms', in Karabel, J. & Halsey, A. (1977) (Eds) Power and Ideology in Education, Oxford; Oxford University Press.
- (17) Willis, P. (1977) in England and Marotto, R. (1978) in the United States provide illustrations of the subcultural response of some students to normative values. See Willis, P. (1977) Learning to Labour, Farnborough; Saxon House, and Marotto, R. (1978) 'Posin to be Chosen : an ethnographic study of 10 lower class black male adolescents in an urban high school', Ed.D., State University of New York; Buffalo.
- (18) Though it is noteworthy that 'The earliest studies into pupils' perceptions of schooling took place in the United States'. See Cohen & Mannion (p.133)
- (19) Blishen, E. (Ed) (1969) The school that I'd like, London; Thames & Hudson
- (20) Ibid. Endpiece.
- (21) Ibid. p. 10.
- (22) Quoted by Alschuler, A. (1980) School Discipline : A Socially Literate Solution, New York; McGraw-Hill. Of the study Alschuler commented that 'In general, students do perceive schools as despotic'. (p.114).
- (23) Alschuler (ibid.) based his observations on data gathered by in the Association of Supervision and Curriculum (ASC) survey, 1971.
- (24) De Cecco, J. & Richards, A. (1974) Growing Pains : The Uses of School Conflict, New York; Aberdeen Press.

- (25) Ibid. p.49.
- (26) These are discussed in Chapter Seven.
- (27) Rist, R. (1973) The Urban School : A Factory for Failure, Cambridge, Mass; MIT Press.
- (28) Ibid.
- (29) Halsey, A. (1972) Educational Priority, Volume 1, London; HMSO.
- (30) Aspects of this development are discussed by Fine, G. and Glassner, B. 'Participant observation with children : promises and problems', Urban Life, 8 (2), pp. 153-174.
- (31) Berk, L., Rose, M., and Stewart, D. (1970) 'Attitudes of English and American Children towards their School Experience', Journal of Educational Psychology, 61 (1), pp.33-40; Hargreaves, D., Hester, J. & Mellor, F. (1975) Deviance in Classrooms, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul; Woods, P. (1979) The Divided School, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (32) Although there has been an ethnographic tradition in anthropology in both countries which has focussed, amongst other things, on the issue of delinquent behaviour in adolescence. See, for example, Cohen, A. (1956) Delinquent Boys and the Culture of the Gang, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- (33) See Chapter One, section i.
- (34) See Introduction, section i.
- (35) This, therefore, draws on the advice offered by Barton and Meighan (1979) : 'The third possibility is to focus on the subjective meaning of behaviour for its enactors; that is, behaviour is consciously 'deviant' according to the enacting person's awareness that the act is in some sense wrong, disapproved or likely to prompt a punishment'. See Barton, L. and Meighan, R. (Eds.) (1979) Schools, Pupils and Deviance, Driffield; Nafferton Books. p. 7.
- (36) This interactionist view of disruptive students enables a connection to be established between the methodological arguments for qualitative approaches and the ethical considerations of research with marginalised populations ( See Chapter Seven, section iii.). As Blumer suggests 'What a person takes into account are the things he indicates to himself. They cover such matters as his wants, his feelings, his goals, the actions of others, the rules of his group, his situation, his conception of himself, his recollections and his image of prospective lines of conduct'. See Blumer, H. (1965) 'The Sociological Implications of the Thought of George Herbert Mead', American Journal of Sociology, 71, pp. 535-44.
- (37) So that such a definition could be used in a comparative study.
- (38) Cooper, P. and Upton, G. (1991) 'Controlling the urge to control : An ecosystemic approach to problem behaviour in schools', Support for Learning, 6 (1), pp. 22-26. (p. 26)
- (39) Rosenthal, R. & Jacobsen, L. (1968) Pygmalion in the Classroom, New York; Holt Rinehart & Winston.
- (40) Rist, R. (1970) 'Student social class and teacher expectations : the self fulfilling prophecy of ghetto education', Harvard Educational Review, 40, pp.411-51.
- (41) Which were then used to amplify previously established beliefs and prejudices. The classic study investigating this is Cohen, S. (1972) Folk Devils and Moral Panics, London; MacGibbon & Kee.
- (42) Good, T. & Brophy, J. (1987) Looking in Classrooms, New York; Harper & Row. p. 117.
- (43) For example, Leach, D. (1977) 'Teachers' Perceptions and 'problem' pupils', Educational Review, 29, pp. 188-203 (England), and Foster, G., Ysseldyke, J. and Reese, J. (1975) 'I Wouldn't Have Seen It If I Hadn't Believed It', Exceptional Children, April, pp.469-473. (United States).
- (44) Rowitz and Gunn (1984) provide an overview of labelling in the context of special education in Rowitz, L. and Gunn, J. (1984) 'The Labelling of Educable Mentally-retarded Children', in Barton, L. and Tomlinson, S. (Eds.) (1984) Special Education and Social Interests, Beckenham; Croom-Helm. pp. 149-172.
- (45) Dunn, L. (1968) 'Special education for the mildly retarded - is much of it justifiable?', Exceptional Children, 35, pp.5-22. This provides an early example of a study exploring the way in which special education in the public schools had developed around a series of

evolving categories. As a result of this, Dunn claims, a student must be labelled in order to be eligible for special education.

(46) Rosenthal, R. & Jacobsen, L. (1968), ( op.cit.), p.vii.

(47) For an account of this see Good, T. & Brophy, J. (1987) (op.cit.) pp. 116-161.

(48) Foster, G., Ysseldyke, J. & Reese, J. (1975) (op.cit.).

(49) Ibid. p 469.

(50) Algozzine, B., Mercer, D. & Countermine, T. (1977) 'The Effect of Labels and Behaviour on Teacher Expectations', Exceptional Children, 44 (2), pp. 131-2.

(51) Rubel, R. (1977) The Unruly School : Disorders, Disruptions and Crimes Lexington; Heath & Company.

(52) Kedar-Voivodas, G. & Tannenbaum, A. (1979) 'Teachers' attitudes toward young deviant children', Journal of Educational Psychology, 71 (6), pp.800-808.

(53) Ibid. p.806.

(54) Sandow, S. and Garner, P. (1991) 'The role of the on-site behavioural support unit', Support for Learning, 6 (4), pp. 150-155. (p. 153).

(55) Algozzine, R., Schmid, R. & Connors, R. (1978) 'Toward an acceptable definition of emotional disturbance', Behavior Disorders, 4 (1), pp. 48-52.

(56) Algozzine, B. (1980) 'The Disturbing Child : A Matter of Opinion', Behavioral Disorders, 5 (2), pp.112-115.

(57) Ibid. p. 114.

(58) Safran, S. & Safran, P.(1985) 'Classroom Context and Teachers' Perception of Problem Behavior', Journal of Educational Psychology, 77 (1), pp. 20-28.

(59) Ibid. p. 21.

(60) Leach, D.(1977) (op.cit.); Starr, J. (1978) 'Discipline and Corporal Punishment in Schools : A Longitudinal Study of the Attitudes of a Group of Student and Probationer Teachers', Research in Education, 19, pp. 67-75.

(61) Blease, D. (1983) 'Teacher Expectations and the Self-Fulfilling Prophecy', Educational Studies, 19 (2), pp. 123-129.

(62) Roe, H.(1986) 'Teachers' Attitudes Towards Childrens' Behaviour in a Comprehensive School', Unpub. M.A. Dissertation; University of York. (63) Kyriacou, C. & Roe, H.(1988) 'Teachers' perceptions of pupils' behaviour problems at a comprehensive school', British Educational Research Journal, 14 (2), pp.167-173.

(64) Algozzine, B. (1980), Op.cit.

(65) See Chapter Five, section i.

(66) Maxwell, W.(1987) 'Teachers' attitudes towards disruptive behaviour in secondary schools', Educational Review, 39 (3), pp.203-216.

(67) Ibid. p.205.

(68) See Chapter Five, section iv.

(69) Maxwell, W. (op.cit.), p.209.

(70) Houghton, S., Wheldall, K. & Merrett, F. (1988) 'Classroom behaviour problems which secondary school teachers find most troublesome', British Educational Research Journal, 14 (3), pp.297-310.

(71) Ibid. p.302.

(72) Metcalf, A. and Humphries, M. (Eds.) (1985) Sexuality of Men, London; Pluto.

(73) Cohen, A. (1956) (op. cit.)

(74) This development is discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

(75) See Chapter Seven, section i.

(76) Hargreaves, D. et.al. (1977), (op.cit).

(77) Woods, P. (Ed.) (1980) Pupil Strategies : Explorations in the Sociology of the School, Beckenham; Croom Helm.

(78) Pollard, A. (1981) 'Coping with Deviance : School Processes and their Implications for Social Reproduction', Ph.D Thesis; University of Sheffield.

(79) Pollard, A. (1982) 'A model of classroom coping strategies', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 3 (1), pp.19-37.

(80) Everhart, R. (1983) Reading, Writing and Resistance : Adolescence and Labor in a Junior High School, New York; Routledge and Kegan Paul.

(81) Pollard, A. (1982), (op.cit.). He uses the term 'accomodation', whereby the status-quo is maintained in the classroom. (p. 19).

- (82) Ibid. p.23.
- (83) North West Regional Educational Laboratory (NWREL) (1990) 'At-Risk Youth', NWREL Bulletin, July/August, Oregon; NWREL.
- (84) Ibid. p.4.
- (85) In this sense the students' role, and his perception of it, is part of the classroom process which Woods (1990) reviews as 'establishing order in the classroom'; see Woods, P. (1990) The Happiest Days?, Basingstoke; Falmer. pp.1-27.
- (86) Particularly in view of the argument, advanced in Chapter Five, that disruptive behaviour should be defined in context.
- (87) This shift in thinking was marked in England by Rutter, M., Maughan, B., Mortimore, P. and Ouston, J. (1979) Fifteen Thousand Hours : Secondary Schools and their Effects on Children, London; Open Books, and in the United States by Brookover, W., Beady, C., Flood, F., Schweitzer, J. and Wisenbaker, J. (1979) School Social Systems and Student Achievement : Schools can make a Difference, New York; Praeger.
- (88) The resultant literature is now substantial. A summary is provided by Reynolds, D.(1989) 'Effective Schools and Pupil Behaviour' in Jones, N. (Ed.) School Management and Pupil Behaviour, Basingstoke; Falmer. pp. 29-44. (89) See, for example, Lunenburg, F. and Schmidt, L. (1989) 'Pupil Control Ideology, Pupil Control Behavior and the Quality of School Life', Journal of Research and Development in Education, 22 (4), pp. 36-44.
- (90) In England, Hargreaves (1982) offers a commentary on this situation, whilst in the USA a similar review is provided by Duke (1990). See Hargreaves, D. (1982) 'The two curricula of schooling' in The Challenge of the Comprehensive School, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul, and Duke, D.(1990) 'School Organization, Leadership and Student Behavior', in Moles, O. (Ed.) (1990) Student Discipline Strategies, Albany; State University of New York Press.
- (91) Brookover, W. et.al. Op.cit.
- (92) This is reviewed by Teddlie, C., Springfield, S., Wimpelberg, R. & Kirby, P. (1989) 'Contextual Differences in Models for effective Schooling in the USA', in Creemers, B., Peters, T. & Reynolds, D.(1989) School Effectiveness and School Improvement, Amsterdam; Swets & Zeitlinger. pp. 117-130.
- (93) West, W. (1975) 'Adolescent deviance and the school'. Interchange, 6, pp. 49-55.
- (94) Ibid. p.51.
- (95) Cullen, F. & Tinto, V. (1975) 'A Mertonian analysis of school deviance' Paper presented to AERA, Washington D.C.
- (96) Koppitch, J., Gerritz, W. & Guthrie, J. (1986) A view from the classroom : California teachers' opinions on working conditions and school reform proposals, Palo Alto; Policy Analysis for California Education.
- (97) Ibid. p. 47.
- (98) Bullis, B.(1986) 'Dropout Prevention', Unpublished Paper, Stanford University.
- (99) Robinson, P. (1981) Perspectives on the Sociology of Education, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (100) Ibid. p. 134.
- (101) Rutter, M., et.al. (Op.cit.). p. 46.
- (102) Ibid.
- (103) Reynolds, D.(1984) 'The School for Vandals : A Sociological Portrait of a Disaffection Prone School', in Frude, N. & Gault, H. (Eds.)(1984) Disruptive Behaviour in Schools, Chichester; John Wiley. This is one example of the literature referred to.
- (104) Brookover, W., Beady, C., Flood, P. Schweitzer, J. & Wisenbaker, J. (1979) School social systems and student achievement : Schools can make a difference, New York; Bergin.
- (105) Rutter, M. et.al. (1979) (op.cit.)
- (106) Johnstone, M. & Munn, P. (1987) Discipline in Schools, Edinburgh; SCRE, provides an overview of the situation in the United Kingdom, including England; Brophy, J. (1985) 'Teachers' expectations, motives, and goals for working with problem students', in Ames, C. & Ames, R. (Eds.) (1985) Research on motivation in education. Vol.II : The classroom milieu, Orlando; Academic Press.

- (107) Two examples of studies which place emphasis on the potential of the school to create, and remediate, disruptive students are Reynolds, D. (1989) 'Effective Schools and Pupil Behaviour', in Jones, N. (Ed.) (1989) School Management and Pupil Behaviour, Basingstoke; Falmer. pp.29-44. and Wehlage, G. & Rutter, R. (1986) 'Dropping Out : How Much Do Schools Contribute to the Problem' Teachers' College Record, 87, pp.374-392.
- (108) Leithwood, K., Lawton, S. & Cousins, J. (1989) 'The relationship between selected characteristics of effective secondary schools and student retention', in Creemers, B., Peters, T. & Reynolds, D. (1989), (op. cit.), pp.95-115.
- (109) See Chapters Four and Five.
- (110) Finlayson, D. & Loughran, J. (1978) 'Pupils' perceptions of high and low delinquency schools', Educational Research, 18 (2), pp.138-145.
- (111) Ibid.
- (112) Galway, J. (1979) 'What pupils think of special education', Comprehensive Education, 39, pp. 18-20.
- (113) Buist, M. (1980) 'Truants talking' Scottish Educational Review, 12 (1), pp.40-51.
- (114) Meighan, R. (1978) 'A pupil's eye view of teaching performance', Educational Research, 30, pp.125-137.
- (115) O'Hagan, F. & Edmunds, G. (1982) 'Pupils' attitudes towards teachers', strategies for controlling disruptive behaviour', British Journal of Educational Psychology, 52, pp. 331-340.
- (116) O'Hagan, F. and Edmunds, G. (1982) (op.cit.) p.338.
- (117) Dawson, R. (1984) 'Disturbed pupils' perception of their teachers support and strictness', Maladjustment & Therapeutic Education, 2 (1), pp.24-27.
- (118) Lubbe, T. (1986) 'Some disturbed pupils' perceptions of their teachers : a psychotherapists viewpoint', Maladjustment & Therapeutic Education, 4 (1), Spring. pp. 29-35.
- (119) White, R. with Brockington, D. (1983) Tales out of School, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- (120) Ibid.
- (121) Scarlett, P. (1989) 'Discipline : Pupil and Teacher Perceptions' Maladjustment and Therapeutic Education, 7 (3), pp.169-77.
- (122) Ibid.
- (123) Bird, C., Chessum, R., Furlong, J. & Johnson, D. (Eds.) (1981) Disaffected Pupils, Educational Studies Unit; Brunel University.
- (124) Tatum, D. (1982) Disruptive Pupils in Schools and Units, Chichester; John Wiley.
- (125) Dawson, R. (1984), op.cit.
- (126) Davies, L. (1984) Pupil Power : Deviance and Gender in School, Lewes; Falmer
- (127) Sheppard, B. (1988) Off Site Pupils and their Experience of Schooling Institute of Education London University; Post 16 Education Centre.
- (128) Schostak, J. (1983) Maladjusted Schooling, Lewes; Falmer.
- (129) Docking, J. (1986) The Attribution of Personal Responsibility : A Developmental Study. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis; University of Surrey.
- (130) Swinson, J. (1990) 'Improving Behaviour : A whole-class approach, using pupil perceptions and social skills training', Educational Psychology in Practice, 6 (2), July. pp.82-88.
- (131) See for example Raymond, J. (1987) 'An Educational Psychologist's Intervention with a Class of Disruptive Pupils Using Pupil Perceptions', Educational Psychology in Practice, 3 (2), pp.16-22.
- (132) Getzels, J. & Smilansky, J. (1983) 'Individual differences in pupil perceptions of school problems', British Journal of Educational Psychology, 53, pp. 307-316.
- (133) Ibid. p.314.
- (134) Benham Tye, R. (1985) Multiple Realities, Lanham; University Press of America.
- (135) Lunenburg, F. and Schmidt, L. (1989) (op. cit.), p. 36.
- (136) Stallworth, W., Frechtling, J. and Frankel, S. (1983) 'In-School Suspension : A Pilot Program' ERS Spectrum, 1 (1) Spring, Educational Research Service; Arlington.
- (137) Murtaugh, M. & Zeitlin, A. (1989) 'How serious is the motivation problem in secondary special education', High School Journal, LXXII, Feb/March.



- (138)Ibid. p.157.
- (139)Boyle, W. (1986) 'Classroom organization and management', in Wittrock M. (Ed.) (1986) (op.cit.).
- (140)Woods, P. (1979) (op. cit.).
- (141)Hollingsworth, E., Lufner, H. & Clune, W.(1984) School Discipline, New York; Praeger.
- (142)Fine, M.(1986) 'Why Urban Adolescents Drop into and out of Public High School', Teachers' College Record, 87 (3), Spring. pp.193-409.
- (143)Richards, M. (1987) 'A Teacher's Action Research Study : The 'Bums' of 8H', Peabody Journal of Education, 64 (2), Winter. pp.65-79.
- (144)Richardson, V., Casanova, U., Placier, P. and Guilfoyle.K. (1989) School Children At Risk, Lewes; Falmer.
- (145)Sansone, J. & Baker, J. (1990) 'Ninth Grade for Students At-Risk for Dropping Out of High School', The High School Journal, April/May, pp. 216-231.
- (146)Mohanty, J. (1972) The Concept of Intentionality, New York; Warren H. Green.
- (147)For a discussion, see Schostak, J. (1982) 'The revelation of the world of pupils', Cambridge Journal of Education, 12 (3), pp. 175-185.
- (148)Harre, R. (1979) Social Beings, Oxford; Blackwell.
- (149)Harre, R. (1986) 'The step to social constructionism', in Richards, M. & Light, P. (1986) Children of Social Worlds, London; Polity Press.
- (150)Ibid. p. 288.
- (151)Mongon, D. and Hart, S. (1989) Improving Classroom Behaviour : New Directions for Teachers and Pupils, London; Cassell. p. 52.
- (152)Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) (op.cit.), p. 16.
- (153)See Chapter Four, section i.
- (154)Thomas, E. & Marshall, M. (1977) 'Clinical evaluation and coordination of services : An ecological model', Exceptional Children, 44 (1), pp. 16-22.
- (155)Ibid. p.16.
- (156)Burden, R.(1978)'Schools' Systems Analysis : a project-centred approach', in Gillham, B. (Ed.) (1978) Reconstructing Educational Psychology, Beckenham;Croom Helm. Gillham, B. (Ed.) (1981) Problem Behaviour in the Secondary School, Beckenham; Croom Helm. Coulby, D. & Harper, T. (1985) Preventing Classroom Disruption, Beckenham; Croom Helm. Richards, J. (1989) 'The Schools as the Dumping Ground of the Community's Responsibilities to Children", School Organisation, 9 (1), pp.115-20.
- Upton, G. & Cooper, P.(1990) 'A New Perspective on Behaviour Problems in Schools : The Ecosystemic Approach" Maladjustment and Therapeutic Education, 8 (1), pp.3-18.
- Amatea, E. (1988) 'Brief systemic interventions with school behaviour', Psychology in the Schools, 25 (2), pp.174-83.

## CHAPTER SEVEN : RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

Comparative Education will miss making an important contribution to the understanding of schooling if it does not participate in the current development of case study approaches to educational processes and educational institutions. (1)

Ethnographic research allows for a better understanding of the problems of urban schools and the impact of classroom environments.....Through the use of ethnographic methods, researchers tap into the value climate of the urban schools and from this perspective are equipped to offer alternative solutions. (2)

### **Introduction.**

In the previous Chapters the position of the disruptive student within mainstream schools in England and the United States has been outlined. This indicated that the disruptive student is mainly an urban phenomenon in those countries, and that, given this particular spatial location, a number of ecosystemic causal factors could be identified. The need to provide a contextual definition for what has been frequently used as a vague term to categorise such students has also been acknowledged.

Perhaps of most importance to this research, an absence of substantial research concerning the views of disruptive students about their school experiences has also been noted. Within previous Chapters reference has been made some of the similarities and differences which exist between the position of such students in England and North America. A comparative investigation of the views of disruptive students in each country may therefore enable important information to be gathered relating to these. This may, in turn, indicate the potential of incorporating the views of such students in some aspects of school organisation in both countries.

The present Chapter will provide a discussion concerning potential research methods, which might be used to investigate these issues in two case-study locations. To enable a comparative investigation, based on the individual reality of disruptive students within their ecosystem, it is necessary to provide a framework of analysis which is flexible. This will allow the ecosystemic nature of the student's experience to be represented (3). This flexible approach to research has provided a focus for recent debate in both England and United States (4).

Glaser & Strauss (5) regarded such flexibility as potentially disturbing to those who look for tests of preformed hypotheses. Others have also seen flexible frameworks as an inherent source of weakness, rather than a creative research process. Graziano & Raulin (6), for example, suggested that open-ended case study approaches offer little hope for replicability and considerable danger of poor representativeness. They stated unequivocally that

we cannot confidently draw causal inferences from  
low-constraint research. (7)

This Chapter will debate this issue, and will then offer a counter-argument for a research rationale which draws upon the qualitative tradition, adapted from sociology and anthropology (8). This, in turn, will provide support for the case study methodology to be used in this comparative study of disruptive students. A set of micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystemic research strategies will then be proposed. These are based upon the ecological work of Bronfenbrenner, which has been reviewed in earlier Chapters (9), and which provides the major focus for the research strategy to be adopted in this study.

Within this discussion a number of questions will be posed relating to the methodological approach which might best be used to investigate disruptive student viewpoints within their own ecosystem and in two countries. Amongst these are issues concerning the status of the case-study approach in comparative research, the choice of research methods which would adequately reflect the cultural and social context of the disruptive student in two separate locations, and the extent to which 'macro' concerns can be theorised from case-studies conducted on a 'micro' scale.

By addressing these questions the proposed methodological approach will attempt to deal with the complex pattern of differential realities which appear to exist for disruptive students in England and the United States. At the same time, it will challenge the view that researchers adopting this methodological approach are incapable of analysing such realities, so that adequate theorising may subsequently be inhibited. Here, for example, the criticism has been that the researcher can ultimately be left with 'endless description and a series of plausible stories' (10), so that the problem becomes :

...not how we can explain what is happening but how we  
can describe what is happening. (11)

This Chapter contains a number of extended discussions. There are a number of explanations for this. It has been noted that the views of disruptive students have seldom been researched from a comparative perspective (12), and the use of case-study

methodology in such research is in a formative stage (13). Moreover, qualitative case-study research per se is also a relatively new form of enquiry (14). In addition, the task of researching disruptive students, who have been a marginalised section of the school population in both England and the United States, requires a number of ethical considerations to be addressed (15).

The Chapter is organised into four sections, which will incorporate responses to the issues raised above. In the first section, an exploration of case study approaches in comparative education is provided. This will establish that comparative approaches have made infrequent use of qualitative techniques, and that they have more usually dealt with macro-issues, comparing national provision rather than more localised or personalised issues.

In the second section a potential research methodology to explore the reality of disruptive students in a comparative context will be discussed. An argument will be developed for the research techniques to be adopted. This follows the rationale offered by Bronfenbrenner (16), in which he has suggested that the perceived environment has largely been ignored in ecosystemic research (17). The suitability of this range of research techniques will then be investigated.

The third section of the Chapter will consider the ethical questions involved in research concerning disruptive students, and will outline a number of strategies to overcome the problems that this might pose during the course of fieldwork in the two case-study sites.

Finally, a research methodology will be identified and a set of research instruments outlined, and the arguments for a focus upon specific elements of the ecosystem of the disruptive student will be reassembled.

## **i. The Use of Qualitative Case Study in a Comparative Study**

The concept of case-study has been regarded as an ambiguous one because it can mean different things to different people. Qualitative case-study has been important in the study of schools since the 1940's and 1950's. Early examples of the approach have been provided by some of the ethnographic work of Henry and Spindler (18). In the United States, case-studies based upon an anthropological tradition have proliferated in the period from the mid-1970's onwards, and a corresponding development, reflecting the increasing interest in naturalistic research in a social context, has also taken place in England (19).

Within the field of comparative education, qualitative strategies were

established at a relatively early date (20), and the use of case-study approaches in these was regarded as crucially important (21). It is also the case, however, that such comparative research has almost exclusively been conducted in terms of educational policy, rather than in terms of individual studies of schools, and the teachers and students within them (22).

It has been suggested, by Sharp & Green, that the value of comparative case-study approaches may be partly that they can help to expose the sharp differences between policy and practice within schools (23). The differences which appear to exist between public policy and the individual experiences of disruptive students in schools in England and the United States have been noted earlier in this thesis (24), and are of considerable importance to this study. At this stage, therefore, it is important to establish a rationale for the use of a case-study approach, in a comparative study which investigates the views of disruptive students. This will enable some of the tensions between micro and macro analysis to be highlighted.

Ball (25), for instance, has commented upon this tension, and, has argued for a more widespread use of small-scale case study, maintaining that

It is virtually impossible to find sociological accounts that employ the words and meanings of the educated themselves, as sources of data..... (26)

This is one illustration of an increasing awareness of the potential role of case study approaches in general educational research.

The main strength of a case-study technique, in a comparative research concerning disruptive students, is that it offers the opportunity to maximise the ecosystemic validity of the data. This concept was originally developed by Bracht & Glass (27) in the United States, and it has subsequently become fundamental to qualitative case-study approaches in England, as demonstrated more recently by the work of Atkinson (28) and Hammersley (29).

In simple terms, this approach refers to the extent to which behaviour in one context is generalisable to another. The ecosystemic model, referred to in previous Chapters (30), which is based on a series of multi-layered realities, requires a dynamic and flexible methodology. This would enable a continuum of observations and viewpoints to be collected over a period of time and the maintenance of a focus on student opinion as opposed to official policy (31). Moreover, from a utilitarian perspective, some researchers are now suggesting that the understandings and insights gathered at this personalised, 'micro' scale of enquiry can provide important information which might subsequently assist in strategy formulation. Dalin (32) has put this in forthright terms

Understanding the culture of the school is

essential if we are to identify change strategies  
which will succeed in the complex task of  
renewing the educational system. (33)

The value of qualitative case-study is, therefore, on the one hand, as an indicator of phenomena, and on the other as an instrument for creating change within education systems by use of exemplars. This would seem to be of particular importance, given the absence of any substantial incorporation of the views of disruptive students in their educational processes (34).

Woods (35) refined the case-study approach to include what he referred to as 'phase two ethnographic research'. He suggested that what was required, in order to extend the somewhat descriptive nature of this research style, was the cultivation of 'leaps of (theoretical) imagination' (36). Here he appeared to be extending Wolcott's (37) view of the ethnographer's approach, which he regarded as  
.....an attempt to create some larger scientific  
superstructure. That's what these bricks are for. (38)

A number of researchers were, therefore, aware that the descriptive approaches, adopted in much case-study methodology, were only partially helpful in researching certain issues in education. The feeling seemed to be that description now needed to be extended by appropriate theorising.

As a result, qualitative research activities began to adopt the principle of hypothetico-induction on a more widespread basis, in order to develop a set of theoretical issues from the research data collected. In this, evidence is not sought to prove or refute a predetermined hypothesis, but rather it seeks to induce concepts and theory from the data as it is revealed over a period of time (39).

Qualitative case-study is especially suited to this approach, in that it can adopt a flexible set of research techniques, which are open to adjustment during fieldwork, when appropriate. Within this, descriptive evidence is regarded as a key element in researching the views of disruptive students, in that not only does it enable contexts to be established, but it also in assists in developing understandings of, and the responses to, disruptive students in schools. The approach is summarised by Stenhouse (40), who argued that  
.....the aspiration towards predictive social  
science models has led to an undervaluing of  
observation and description, an overvaluing of  
the written source, of statistical, of the  
accounts educational systems offer of  
themselves. (41)

Whilst acknowledging the value of this methodology for investigating disruptive students in specific settings and cultures, it is also the case that, whilst the influence of the so-called new sociology (42) has led to the emergence of some cross-cultural qualitative research, such work remains infrequent (43). Crossley and Vulliamy (44) have emphasised this point :

...a survey of available ethnographic studies  
reveals scant attention to the case-study research  
favoured by Stenhouse. (45)

The present research, therefore, will use the parallels that exist between an ecosystemic explanation of student reality, as described in Chapter Six, and a research style which is focussed upon a qualitative investigation of the disruptive student's interpretation of his ecosystem. Both approaches have a critical interest in individual realities (46). Both regard all information as important in establishing the nature of human interaction (47). And both seek to obtain explanations and deduce theory from the data collected, rather than attempting to prove an existing hypothesis (48)

This comparative study proposes to adopt the principles of small-scale case-study methodology outlined thus far. By using a qualitative approach, the ecosystemic nature of the disruptive student's experience in school may be highlighted. In doing this, therefore, it would seem to respond to the observation of Heyman (49), that comparative research should

....focus its attention on the problem of describing  
how the social reality called education exists in the  
lived world. (50)

Having argued this point, there are an additional set of theoretical issues involved in refining a particular type of case-study approach in a comparative context. These will be discussed in the concluding part of this section.

Herrlitz (51) proposed one potential model for the style of comparative qualitative research which has been outlined above. He argued that it should be characterised by a number of attributes, including :

- (i) case-study conducted by a participant observer.
- (ii) documentation which allows for a variety of viewpoints.
- (iii) more than one dimension of data-gathering and interpretation. (52)

Moreover, Herrlitz maintained that the approach would have to be comparative in the sense that, at least at one point of the process of interpretation, judgements of a specialist from outside the culture in question have to be provoked. (53)

The latter allowed what Herrlitz termed an 'intellectual interpretability'. The value of this approach is that it compares systems and accounts for their culturally and socially defined substance. Sturm (54) regarded this as providing an  
interpretative research concept' which allows  
for the controlled reconstruction of meanings  
in their cultural context. (55)

In one sense, therefore, the argument is that a comparative 'action research' may be a difficult strategy to adopt, because it may inhibit the theorising which is a necessary part of Wood's phase-two process (56). The conclusion to be drawn from this argument appears to be that any involvement by the researcher within the case-study sites to be utilised in the study needs to acknowledge the critical balance between the data acquired and the perceptions and expectations of the researcher.

It may also be argued that the activities of 'actors' cannot be separated from the actors themselves (in this case, the disruptive student in school) and that often the acts (ie. the 'disruptive behaviours') develop consequences which the actors did not wholly intend. This, in turn, would appear to support arguments for a research strategy which has as its focus the concept of 'student reality', rather than research which is based mainly upon the theoretical interpretations of 'experts' (57). In other words, a flexible methodological approach may allow the students to revisit issues relating to their behaviour and explore them from other perspectives. This, it is argued in section iii of this Chapter, is an important feature of ethical integrity.

Gordon (58) has interpreted such actions, within an educational context, as 'text'. He suggests that this is a model which allows for a consideration of the individual (student) and, by inference, the reality of that individual, within a specific educational context (59).

Recover (60) also supports this analysis, stating that  
the importance of an activity goes beyond its  
relevance to its initial situation. It develops  
meanings which can be actualized or fulfilled in  
situations other than the one in which this activity  
occurred. (61)

It has additionally been argued, by Handy (62), that people should be conceptualized as knowledgeable agents creating and sustaining society through purposive actions. This has been under-theorised within radical reformulations of social-psychology (63), and it has certainly not been a predominant theme in theorising disruptive students in either English or North American settings until relatively recently (64). Once again, therefore, the argument is that disruptive students are agents in the social process, rather than remaining reactive to the structural features of education systems.



A concluding point to this overview may be drawn from Herrlitz & Sturm, who have provided a note of caution when establishing an ethnographic strategy :

It should be clear that the point of the research process in which the ethnographic corpus is constructed cannot be formulated as a (simple) 'how to do it procedure' : lots of unexpected methodological problems emerge constantly during the work in progress and have to be 'tackled on site'.  
(65)

The present study contains a number of such 'unexpected methodological problems'. In part these can be eliminated during the course of a pilot study, but there nevertheless remains a need for flexibility during the main research itself.

A number of summative observations can, therefore, be made concerning the use of comparative case-study approaches which use qualitative method. In the first instance, the relationships between each aspect of 'context' will undoubtedly affect the response of the individual student. This has been indicated in previous Chapters, in the discussions relating to urban location, causal factors and definition. From this it is apparent that the task of case-study method, as articulated in this section, is to attempt to understand the processes of human behaviour in specific situations, rather than to seek universally applicable laws (66). In consequence, the individual reality of the disruptive student should be informed by a corresponding emphasis upon the spatial and temporal locations of such behaviours. This, in turn, brings the methodological argument close to the definition of disruptive student, which has been outlined in Chapter Five. Accordingly, the disruptive student, who is best theorised in terms of time, space and human interaction, may best be researched using qualitative methods which allow the ecosystemic nature of such characteristics to be adequately described.

From the foregoing discussion, it is possible to highlight three features of a comparative research methodology based upon a qualitative techniques, as a means of validating the case-study approach to be adopted in this study. Firstly, it has been infrequently used by researchers. Secondly, it has more usually been applied to comparisons of national systems. Finally, as has been demonstrated in the extended discussion within this section, research using qualitative case-study methodology, although often a complex undertaking, is well suited to an exploration of the views of disruptive students in two countries, because of the fluidity that such an approach possesses.

The next section of the Chapter will incorporate the theoretical issues, outlined above, into a further extended discussion concerning a number of individual techniques for data acquisition, which may be used in the two case-study sites. In doing this it will return to the ecosystemic model of the disruptive student's school experience, outlined in earlier

Chapters (67), and which this section has indicated requires a flexible methodology in order to investigate its characteristics.

## **ii. Developing a Research Style to Investigate the Views of Disruptive Students.**

The previous section of this Chapter outlined a number of characteristics of case-study approaches in comparative research. It also identified that any ecosystemic research instruments, used in comparative case-studies of disruptive students, should be sufficiently flexible to maximise the data-acquisition opportunities in each research site.

The reality of the disruptive student in England and the United States, viewed from an ecosystemic orientation, suggests that the focus of explanation and intervention is on the student's experience of the entire social system (68) of which he is a focal point. An ecosystemic research methodology would, therefore, need to gather information which reflects the holistic nature of the individual reality of the disruptive student by offering a corresponding 'ecology' of research instruments. Importantly, this approach suggests that 'object constancy' does not exist in the social world. As Mehan & Wood (69) have implied

...social events are not networks of caused events,  
nor are they amenable to literal description...If (social  
science) is to describe social relations, it must  
describe portions of lived social realities. But persons  
do not speak to one another (or interviewers) in  
conformance with the laws of the excluded middle and  
identity. This does not mean that people are irrational.  
It means that they are rational in a way that is  
incompatible with the requirements of literal description.

(70)

To this extent, therefore, object constancy is a differential and, in methodological terms, this would suggest that a range of techniques, adaptable to changing circumstances as the research progresses in selected case-study sites, is utilised.

It has been suggested elsewhere in this study (71) that definitions of, and explanations for, disruptive students may be drawn from a range of theoretical viewpoints. The student reality, which such interpretations seek to quantify, may therefore be best investigated by adopting an ecological approach to methodology which retains the flexibility to which Glaser and Strauss have referred (72).

In order to incorporate such flexibility, therefore, data should be obtained at the microsystemic, mesosystemic, exosystemic and macrosystemic levels (73). But the substantive focus is upon the microsystemic and mesosystemic environments, as depicted

by the reality of the individual disruptive student. The arguments for this approach have been reviewed in Chapter Six.

The suggestion that research concerning disruptive students in schools in England and the United States has tended to take place at policy level, either nationally or regionally, has already been made in this study (74). In other words, research has traditionally been conducted from a macro- and exo-systemic perspective in each country. Historically and culturally this may have been because professional expertise and clinical, or pseudo-clinical, involvement in diagnosis has remained fundamental within special education systems in England and the United States (75).

Bearing these points in mind, therefore, this section of the Chapter will consider a range of qualitative methods which might be adopted to explore the views of disruptive students in two contrasting settings. The arguments outlined above will be developed by further reference to Bronfenbrenner (76), in relation to the methodological implications that they raise.

The section will comprise three sub-sections, each corresponding to the sub-divisions of the ecosystem previously outlined. These are :

(a) the macrosystem and exosystem (b) the mesosystem and (c) the microsystem. Potential research techniques will be considered within each sub-system.

#### **(a) Macrosystemic and Exosystemic levels : Contextual Issues.**

The macrosystem within which the disruptive student operates, according to Bronfenbrenner, concerns the belief systems or ideologies which underpin their cultures and sub-cultures (77). These have traditionally been interpreted mainly from the standpoint of teachers and administrators (78). The exosystem refers to those structures which exist both inside and outside the school which endeavour to provide structures within which disruptive students may be effectively managed. These include the strategies adopted at national and regional level in England and the United States to deal with the issue. The exosystem, therefore, forms a structural framework into which the cultural and ideological components of the macrosystem are subsumed.

The macrosystem and exosystem provide a scenario for the 'accepted wisdom' which underpins work with disruptive students in both England and the United States. They also provide essential background details concerning provision at national and regional level for such students, and are therefore central to an understanding of student reality. Overviews

of Local Education Authority (LEA) and School Board responses to the relevant special education legislation in England and the United States respectively are provided : in the case of disruptive students, the 1981 Education Act (England) and PL 94-142 (United States) (79) are fundamental.

Further formal documentary evidence might also be gathered from reports from teacher unions and other pressure groups, who have had particular involvement with disruptive students. This may, where appropriate, be presented in supporting appendices. Additional informal documentary evidence may be obtained from articles in journals and newspapers. The collection of such qualitative data does not preclude the use of relevant quantitative material, produced by local and national agencies involved in working with disruptive students : again, where appropriate this may be contained in appendices. Quantitative method may therefore be seen as a means of providing 'hard' data concerning the disruptive students in the two research locations. In this sense the view of Sieber (80), that qualitative methods

used at the start of an empirical investigation can  
assist in the analysis and interpretation of  
survey data by providing a theoretical structure. (81)

may be reinterpreted, so that it is the quantitative 'evidence' which helps to support qualitative data. Such interactive approaches add further fluidity to the methodology.

Interviews with 'key' personnel (or 'informants') (82) are a further strategy which might usefully be adopted as a means of establishing a context within which the disruptive students's reality may be explored. Key personnel provide testimony of the 'official version' of the educational and social setting in which the disruptive student operates.

From a methodological point of view, however, there are a number of issues which need to be explored relating to both the use of formal documentary evidence and of 'key' personnel from the exosystem. Firstly, it should be acknowledged that the views of teachers and other educational professionals, whilst important in a normative (structural and ideological) sense, do not comprise the main focus of this study. In consequence, although their interaction with the disruptive students in each case-study site forms an important aspect of the disruptive students' experience, it is the students' interpretations of these interactions which is being investigated.

Secondly, if a strict ecosystemic perspective is adopted, then every member of a 'group' (here used in its widest sense) becomes a key informant. Once again, there may be a danger that the opinions and interpretations of dominant groups within the ecosystem might be over-represented or given more significance. For the purposes of this research, therefore, one key informant at a senior level within the LEA (England) or School Board (USA)

might be identified, using the guidelines suggested by Tremblay (83), to provide 'evidence' from the exosystem.

The composite use of research data obtained by using the techniques outlined above would enable the research to offer a regional scene-setting for each research location. The overview of the existing regional provision might be concluded by providing a brief historical overview, including an indication of the key local policy decisions, which have developed from national legislation, relating to disruptive students. This information may be obtained from quantitative evidence gathered from a wide range of documents, including officially commissioned surveys, reports, enquiries and documents relating to school policy and practice. Again, such information is seen as contextual, supporting the research rather than forming its substance.

In summary, the underpinning methodological emphasis at the macrosystemic and exosystemic levels remains the need to make the data, obtained by examination of documents and interviews of key personnel, a flexible tool in the hands of the qualitative comparative researcher. As Foster & Sheppard (84) have pointed out

Perhaps the most important point for those wishing  
to use primary source material...is that the reader  
should approach the material with an open mind in  
order to get the most from it. (85)

#### **(b) The Mesosystemic Level : The Research Sites (England and the United States)**

Bronfenbrenner defined the mesosystem as comprising those broad interactions which might take place in a school, other than on a 1:1 basis. In this case such interactions could involve the disruptive student. They include the organisational procedures which the school adopts to address the issue, and the general responses of the disruptive students to these and other school practices.

Qualitative evidence might, therefore, be gathered by reference to a wide range of school-based documentation (for example, school aims, codes of conduct, departmental aims and objectives), interviews with key personnel, and by an overview of spatial, physical, economic and social location of the school. A rationale has been offered for the use of these instruments in section (a) above.

**(c) The Microsystemic Level : Disruptive Students and those who work with them.**

The microsystem is that element of the ecosystem which concerns the 1:1 interactions between the disruptive student and his teachers in specific situations. It also includes interactions between the disruptive student and his peer group.

Qualitative method involving individual participants has been increasingly common in educational research in the last 15 years (86). Goertz & Lecompte (87) stated that the general goal of educational ethnography is to provide rich and descriptive data about the contexts, activities and beliefs of participants, with an emphasis upon an attempt to study the whole setting (88). A fundamental element of this is the role of the participant observer.

Becker (89) outlines such work :

..he watches the people he is studying to see what situations they ordinarily meet and how they behave in them. He enters into conversation with some or all of the participants in these situations and discovers their interpretations of the events he has observed. (90)

Some of the problems and possibilities of participant observation have been outlined elsewhere (91). A comparative study of disruptive students using these techniques is additionally constrained by a series of ethical and practical considerations, some of which will be examined in the third section of this Chapter. The research style has to establish a participant observer's activity profile which on the one hand does not prejudice the ethical stance of the researcher in relation to both (a) research validity and (b) to the disruptive students themselves. At the same time it needs to produce sufficient data to engage in hypothetical induction (92).

Moreover, as disruptive students tend to be drawn from disadvantaged groups within urban communities (93), it may be argued that research strategies involving them need to find an appropriate way of responding to such inequalities. Two possible considerations in this respect are that the research should, firstly, offer data which might lead to curricular and organisational developments which will reflect more effectively the autonomy of the individual, so that educational and social hierarchies are not reinforced. Secondly, a research method which is non-voyeuristic should be sought. The former might be seen as the product of such research, whilst the latter concerns the process.

At the same time, however, research based upon these principles has to adopt a 'critical distance' from the activities and engagements within the research sites so that Vidich's (94) fear that

...it may become impossible for him to objectify his own experiences for research purposes; in committing his loyalties he develops vested interests which will inevitably enter into his observations (95)

will not be realised.

The participant research style described above could be operationalised by a range of data-gathering techniques. These reflect the 'fluidity of process' which, it has been argued, is concomitant with ecosystemic enquiry (107). These techniques will now be outlined.

Firstly, student diaries and teacher diaries could be maintained. Such unstructured recording of events by selected individuals has been a feature of qualitative research since the early 1940's (96), and a number of studies can be identified as exemplars within the genre (97). In the present study, diaries could be maintained by both the disruptive students and by their teachers, with certain adaptations for each group. Their records could be either structured or unstructured, although for the purposes of analysis both groups could be asked to make separate recordings of specific events and their reflections about them. This method of recording is seen as one approach by which the researcher can obtain a set of personal accounts of situations and events : an 'insiders' view of particular circumstances. The research diary methodology may be regarded as proactive, in that it can provide data which may help the participant researcher to explore further issues concerning specific incidents (98).

A second research technique at the microsystemic level is the use of 'critical biography' (99). As the researcher becomes familiar with the interactions between disruptive students and their teachers in each research site, a number of individuals will present as 'influential' or 'typical' within their context. Their typicality and level of influence may be determined by several other research methods. In the case of the former, this may be by reference to documentary evidence relating to previous referrals of disruptive students to the special provision in the schools. The level of influence which an individual may have over his surroundings may be illustrated by a number of sociometric devices, which are discussed later in this section.

Spindler (100) has referred to this stage of case-study research as one of 'locating critical relationships'. He commented that

It is the stage when one has spent a fair amount of time on the research site, knows 'who's who', and has begun to decide that some things are more important than others. (101)

This view offers further support, therefore, for the flexible methodology which has been proposed for this comparative study.

A biographical analysis of some or all of the participants may also be made. A methodology for this strategy has been developed by Allport (102). He identified three particular forms :

a comprehensive autobiographical account of the individual's life, illustrating its main trends; a 'topical autobiography', which selects particular themes around which an individual constructs a personal, historical story; and finally an edited autobiography, where the researcher selects items to build into a life-profile. Each of these forms an attempt to obtain an insiders point of view, which may be free from value-judgement. The status of this research instrument, as with other techniques, can be established as the research progresses. There are clearly problems of reliability with this type of information gathering (103), and this places considerable emphasis upon the need to cross-reference data gathered by other techniques at the each case-study site.

A further data-gathering instrument which might be used at the microsystemic level is the unstructured or semi-structured interview. These appear to be particularly appropriate interviewing methods for use with disruptive students. The use of structured interviews may, however, suggest an unequal and hierarchical relationship, between the participant-researcher and the student, in that the researcher is mapping an agenda. This would contradict the research ethic underpinning an investigation of disruptive student reality, which has been outlined elsewhere (104).

Unstructured and semi-structured interviews have been used successfully in social research for a long time. Mayhew (105) and the Webbs (106) are historical examples. They suggest that 'conversations' may be of greater value than predetermined questions and answers because they provide a much richer and often context-bound set of data that can be used alongside other research material. They would also seem to allow for the ongoing development of the relationship between researcher and disruptive student, which in turn may yield further information. Allowing the interviewee the apparent freedom from direct questioning assists the researcher to make the interview  
assume the appearance of a natural interesting  
conversation. (107)

whilst at the same time ensuring, by discreet structuring on the part of  
the interviewer, that  
it is always a controlled conversation which he  
guides and bends to the service of his research interest. (108)

Finally, research at the microsystemic level might be supported by a number of graphical techniques. This discussion has previously suggested that qualitative research is multi-dimensional, in that it seeks to draw a broad, yet detailed, set of data from a research site and to use this to explore the levels of meaning used by the participants. Graphical techniques can be used to demonstrate aspects of this multi-dimensionality by providing a 'down-view' of the inter-relationships between the disruptive students, their teachers and other significant individuals in the educational setting. This may then enable the observer to



read a 'map' of human interaction, so that its ecosystemic nature may be more effectively illustrated.

The use of sociograms is one diagrammatic way by which the researcher can record existing relationships within a teaching-space or other school setting. Sociograms can help to identify networks of friendship and hostility within and between groups and individuals (109). They hold considerable advantages for the qualitative researcher, in that the information is relatively easy to obtain, and it also provides an overall, 'at a glance' view of a set of classroom relationships. At the same time, it is important to record Cohen's (110) reservation that, because it is difficult to record a lot of information diagrammatically,

Much of the subtlety and complexity of social  
relationships within classrooms may therefore  
remain unobserved and unrecorded. (111)

Nevertheless the sociogram, used as supporting evidence, can provide an alternative viewpoint. Used in conjunction with other research data, it can also contribute towards effective triangulation of data. Additionally, it may provide indications of new areas for investigation within the case-study site itself.

A further graphical perspective might be obtained by the use of a 'concept map'. Unlike sociograms, these are wholly student, teacher or researcher generated, and comprise a diagrammatic representation of feelings concerning certain contexts or events. The technique is wholly subjective, with the emphasis upon studying the world as it seems to be, rather than as it actually is. The 'reality' is not viewed as physical reality but as perceived experience. The development of this approach can be traced back to the work of Lewin (112), de Lauwe (113) and Boulding (114). Again, the technique can be used in support of qualitative data gathered using other techniques.

This section has provided an overview of a range of research techniques which might be suitable for use in a comparative research involving two case-study sites. The potential of these for the main research will be investigated in a pilot study, reported in Chapter Eight. The next section of the present Chapter, contains a brief statement concerning a number of issues relating to research ethics, which have been identified as important considerations in research concerning marginalised groups of the school population, in both England and the United States.

### iii. A Note Concerning Research Ethics in Qualitative Case-Study Enquiry with Disruptive Students

This section of the Chapter is important because the research draws extensively upon individual student comment, which may often concern potentially sensitive and personal matters affecting their lives in schools. Moreover, the research has already acknowledged the lack of substantial opportunity for self-advocacy on the part of disruptive students (115).

The section will examine both of these issues in the context of the potential research methodology outlined in section ii. This will be done in two parts. In the first, the ethical position of a researcher investigating disruptive students in schools will be examined. The second part will focus upon those strategies which might be adopted in order to obtain an ecosystemic picture from the disruptive students' perspective, whilst still maintaining confidentiality.

The first issue for consideration concerns the duality of the comparative researcher's role, when investigating aspects of a marginalised (disruptive) school culture (116). Here there appears to be a crisis of identity (117). The researcher, because of continued and often intimate contact with disruptive students in the two case-study sites, may begin to assume the role of confidante or friend, rather than an authority figure or teacher. It is therefore possible that data derived from such association may be regarded as invalid. Thus, Vidich (118) has argued that

If the participant observer seeks genuine experiences, unqualifiedly immersing and committing himself in the group he is studying, it may become impossible for him to objectify his own experiences for research purposes. (119)

The stance adopted in this research is an attempt to obtain a level of 'ethical integrity' (120), whereby the research, as a body of knowledge, is subjugated to the immediate academic and social demands of the students. Thus, the role of a researcher, investigating the views of disruptive students in schools, is, in one sense, subordinate to that of a 'teacher' interacting with academically and socially marginalised groups or individuals (121). Thus data would be collected only at those points which are perceived by the researcher to be non-intrusive on the educational needs of the students. In both case-study sites, therefore, the strategy of teacher-researcher would be adopted.

Moreover, in order to maintain this ethical stance, specific strategies would need to be adopted in order to preserve confidentiality. These are now outlined. In this study the names of the two selected research sites, one in the North-West of England and the other in

the North-West of the United States, will be changed in order to preserve anonymity. The names of all the schools in the study will also be changed. It is also necessary to proportionately adjust certain quantitative details of data from the research sites (for example, population of towns/cities in the case-study area, number of students on school rolls) in order to sustain this confidentiality.

All individual person-names will also be changed, and certain biographical details relating to disruptive students and their families amended, in order to maintain anonymity. The use of pseudonyms and the modification of situations is now regarded as common practice in reporting field studies (122), and the strategy has a number of important predecessors (123).

At the same time, it remains important that safeguards should be adopted to maintain the integrity of the research data. Here technique used by Ball (124) has been adopted. The collected data from his study (individual comments, transcripts and biographies) was made available by Ball to the students in his research, in order that respondent validation could be facilitated. Finally, 'reflective permission' was sought from each disruptive student, at various stages of the research (125). In the present study, the initial willingness on the part of disruptive students to talk about school experiences would, in addition, be validated at two subsequent points in the research : once after the students had inspected the data generated by their statements and, finally, at a point near to completion of the study, but prior to formal presentation. The disruptive students at both case-study sites would, therefore, be incorporated into the research process from the outset. In part this adopts that understanding of the participant researcher outlined by Pollard, who stated that

a sound ethical position is also likely to be a  
sound tactical position from the point of view of  
gathering 'backstage' data. (126)

By adopting the strategies described above it is anticipated that the research techniques identified in section ii. of the present Chapter may be operationalised, whilst maintaining the integrity of the individual disruptive student's reality. The final section of this Chapter synthesises the methodological discussions of the previous pages, and defines, in specific terms, the research techniques to be used in the first stage of the research, the pilot-study.

#### **iv The Synthesis : The Ecological Research Instrument.**

The previous Chapters in this study have proposed that the disruptive student's reality is the focal-point of the ecosystem. This reality, as viewed by the student, comprises a

microsystem, which is surrounded by the mesosystem, in which the student will participate, in varying degrees. The opinions of the disruptive student about both the micro- and mesosystem are further affected by exosystemic and macrosystemic influences, which indirectly, and subliminally, inform the behaviour of the disruptive student in a micro- and meso-context.

This study, in seeking to explore the personal views, or reality, of disruptive students in England and the United States has been guided by Shor's advice that  
the habit of taking student's statements seriously  
needs cultivating by teachers. (127)

In attempting to 'take seriously' such viewpoints, the discussion of potential research strategies has suggested a flexible approach, in which the research incorporates, or rejects, individual techniques of data collection as appropriate to given situations in the two case-study sites (128). The use of this approach, it has been argued in this Chapter, will enable a comparative case-study to be undertaken using qualitative methodology. It may also have the additional benefit of providing possible directions for subsequent student, teacher and administrator response to the phenomenon. This conforms, therefore, to the ethical stance outlined earlier. Plummer (129) concludes

Its (interactionism's) view of the world may be quirky and its contradictions may be intellectually unsatisfying; it may find few sympathisers willing to stay with it for long - it is a phase one may pass through on the way to more lofty enterprises. But.... it is a necessary and radical, though modest, counter balance to most traditions of thought. Its final irony is that whilst it is consistently rejected as a valid approach to the world in academic writing, it is consistently acknowledged most of the time in our daily lives. (130)

Bearing this in mind, the methodological approach outlined in this Chapter has offered a paradigm for research which is focussed upon the world of the disruptive student as it is witnessed by them. It thus allows for the research 'evidence', gathered by fieldwork in England and the United States, to be generated by the principal participants within the ecosystem - the disruptive students themselves.

In the light of the discussions in the previous three sections of the Chapter, the following research techniques have been identified for use in the initial (pilot) stage of the study :

## THE MACROSYSTEM & THE EXOSYSTEM.

Official Documents : National, Regional and Case-Study Site.

Interviews with Key Personnel : Regional and Case-Study Site.

## THE MESOSYSTEM & THE MICROSYSTEM.

Semi-Structured Interviews with Disruptive Students.

Critical biography of Disruptive Students.

Informal Comments from Disruptive Students.

Individual Case-Study of Disruptive Students.

Disruptive Student Diary.

Teacher Diary.

Graphical Techniques.

## **Conclusion**

This Chapter has outlined the arguments for a range of data-gathering techniques. It has considered these both from their potential within a comparative study which utilises a case-study approach and also in terms of their ability to provide information relating to the whole ecosystem in which the disruptive student operates. Finally, an acknowledgement is provided that research concerning such students needs to maintain an ethical integrity, given the marginalised position of disruptive students in the two countries.

The following Chapter will provide an account of how such qualitative research techniques have been applied. This is accomplished firstly in the form of a pilot study which examined the fieldwork implications of the proposed techniques. Then a summary is provided of the qualitative data obtained as a result of the research techniques selected for use in the two case-study sites in England and the United States.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SEVEN.

- (1) Stenhouse, L.(1979) 'Case Study in Comparative Education : particularity and generalisation', Comparative Education, 15 (1), pp.5-10. ( p.9).
  - (2) Filling, C. (1980) 'Prospects for an Ethnographic Approach to Urban Education', Urban Education, 15 (3), pp. 259-277. (p. 274)
  - (3) As defined by Bronfenbrenner (1979) and discussed in detail in Chapter Six. See Bronfenbrenner, U. The Ecology of Human Development, Cambridge; Harvard University Press.
  - (4) Moreover, this flexibility allows for the use of quantitative data within the analytical framework. This point is made in Barnes, C. (1992) 'Qualitative Research : valuable or irrelevant', Disability, Handicap and Society, 7 (2), pp. 115-124.
  - (5) Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1967) The Discovery of Grounded Theory, Chicago; Aldine.
  - (6) Graziano, A. & Raulin, M.(1989) Research Methods : A Process of Inquiry New York; Harper & Row.
  - (7) Ibid. p.128.
  - (8) See, for example, Kuper, A. (1973) Anthropology and Anthropologists : The British School, 1922-1972, London; Allen Lane.
  - (9) Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) (op.cit.).
  - (10) Woods, P. (1985) 'Sociology, ethnography and teacher practice', Teacher & Teacher Education, 1, pp. 51-62.
  - (11) Ibid. p. 53.
  - (12) See Chapter One, section i.
  - (13) Vulliamy, G., Lewin, K. and Stephens, D. (1990) Doing Educational Research in Developing Countries, Basingstoke; Falmer. (p. 7).
  - (14) Ball, S. (1987) The Micro-Politics of the School, London; Methuen. (p. xi).
  - (15) These are outlined in Chapter Seven, section iii.
  - (16) Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) (op.cit.).
  - (17) Ibid. p.17.
  - (18) Spindler, G. (1955) Education and Anthropology, Stanford; Stanford University Press.
  - (19) For a historical review see Delamont, S. & Atkinson, P.(1980) 'The Two Traditions in Educational Ethnography : sociology and anthropology compared', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 1 (2), pp. 139-52.
- At the same time the authors make the point that 'Our reading of the literature suggests very strongly that despite having-apparently- common concerns, scholars in the respective countries, and those who work in the two different disciplines, have little awareness of each- others work' (p.140).
- (20) Fraser, S. & Brickman, W. (Eds.) (1968) A History of International and Comparative Education. Nineteenth Century Documents, Glenview; Scott Foresman & Company.
  - (21) Crossley & Vulliamy (1984) argue that case-study approaches have their origins in anthropological and sociological studies. They trace the historical developments of these approaches, and suggest that the former are more common in North America and the latter more frequent in England, and particularly in the last 10 years : '.....in North America during the last decade, anthropological case-studies of schooling have proliferated.....the rapid growth of sociological case-studies of schooling is relatively recent and confined very much more to Britain than to North America'. Crossley, M. & Vulliamy, G. (1984) 'Case-Study Research Methods and Comparative Education', Comparative Education, 20 (2), pp. 193-207. (pp.193-4).
  - (22) Ibid. 'Comparisons between schooling in different countries are almost exclusively conducted in terms of educational policies and only rarely....are questions raised as to the relationship of such policies to the realities of schooling'. (p.197).
  - (23) Sharp, R. & Green, T. (1975) Education and Social Control, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
  - (24) See Chapter Six, section iv.
  - (25) Ball, S. (1981) 'The sociology of education in developing countries' British Journal of Sociology of Education, 2 , pp.301-313.

- (26) Ibid. p.311.
- (27) Bracht, G. & Glass, G. (1968) 'The external validity of experiments', American Educational Research Journal, 5, pp. 437-474.
- (28) Atkinson, P., Delamont, S. & Hammersley, M. (1988) 'Qualitative research traditions', Review of Educational Research, 58, pp.231- 250.
- (29) See Hammersley, M. (1984) The Ethnography of Schooling : Methodological Issues, Driffield; Nafferton Books. (30) See Chapter Four and Chapter Five.
- (31) The requisite flexibility enables selections to be made as the research progresses : as in the case of key personnel, for example in Part iiiia, Chapter Seven.
- (32) Dalin, P. (1978) Limits to Educational Change, London; Macmillan.
- (33) Ibid. p.1.
- (34) Noted in Chapter Six.
- (35) Woods, P. (1987) 'Ethnography at the Crossroads : a reply to Hammersley', British Educational Research Journal, 13 (3), pp.297-306.
- (36) Ibid. p.299.
- (37) Wolcott, H. (1987) 'On ethnographic intent' in Spindler, G. & Spindler, L. (Eds.) (1987) Interpretive ethnography of education, Hillsdale; Erlbaum.
- (38) Ibid. p.37.
- (39) The theoretical issues relating to hypothetical-induction are discussed by Bulmer, M.(1979) 'Concepts in the analysis of qualitative data', Sociological Review, 27 (4), pp.651-657.
- (40) Stenhouse, L. (1979), ( op.cit.).
- (41) Ibid. p.8.
- (42) Burgess, R. (1984) 'Exploring frontiers and setting territory : Shaping the sociology of education', British Journal of Sociology, 35 (1), pp. 122-137. (p. 122).
- (43) Herrlitz & Peterse (1984) comment that case-study approaches should have, as the basis for their development '....an intimate knowledge of the nature of the interconnection between culture and teaching in each country. However, so far hardly any research has been done in this field, and....little is known about this connection at present' See Herrlitz, W. & Peterse, H. (1984) 'The International Mother Tongue Education Network' in Herrlitz, W., Kamer, A., Kroon, S., Peterse, H. & Sturm,J. (Eds.) (1984)Mother Tongue Education in Europe, Enschede; SLO.
- (44) Crossley, M. & Vulliamy, G. (1984), ( op.cit.).
- (45) Ibid. p.197.
- (46) Woods, P. & Hammersley, M.(1977) summarise this view : 'Central to this 'new approach' was a focus on teacher and pupil experiences as revealed in teachers' and pupils' own accounts, their interpretations and feelings merging, changing, developing, converging, blurring, clarifying and so on in the course of everyday life in schools. This carried implications for the significance of the impact of schooling, for example, on the pupil's conception of self and his construction of identity within the society of which he is part'.
- (47) Atkinson, P.& Delamont, S.(1990) (op.cit.) confirm this : 'It has, however, been recognised that qualitative researchers, in particular, recreate social worlds for their readers. They do so by writing descriptions of scenes and settings, introducing and assembling characters, and narrating social actions'. (p.112).
- (48) West, W. (1984) 'Phenomenon and Form in Interactionist and Neo-Marxist Qualitative Educational Research', in Barton, L. & Walker, S. (1984) Social Crisis and Educational Research, Beckenham; Croom Helm. pp. 255-256.
- (49) Heyman, R. (1979) 'Comparative Education from an Ethnomethodological Perspective', Comparative Education, 15 (3), pp. 241-9.
- (50) Ibid. p.248.
- (51) Herrlitz, W. & Sturm, J. (1990) 'Ethnographic Research in the Field of Mother Tongue Education : What Can Be Learnt From IMEN', Monograph. (52) Ibid. p.3.
- (53) Herrlitz, W.(1987) 'Standard Language Teaching in Europe' in Kroon, S. & Sturm,J. Research on Mother Tongue Education in an International Perspective, Enschede; VALO-M. pp.13-14.
- (54) Sturm, J. (1988) Comparative Research Methods in Mother Tongue Education. Research Paper to Symposium Deutsch Didaktik; Bielefeld.

- (55) Ibid. p.11.
- (56) Woods, P. (1985)
- (57) Bronfenbrenner remarks on the over-emphasis upon 'expert' evidence in Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) (op.cit.), p.4.
- (58) Gordon, D. (1988) 'Education as Text : The Varieties of Educational Hiddenness', Curriculum Inquiry, 18 (4), pp. 425-449.
- (59) Ibid. Gordon states that a 'text' is a good paradigm for the study of meaningful action (for example, classroom activity). This places the 'text' at the microsystemic level.
- (60) Ricouer, P. (1981) 'The model of the text : Meaningful action considered as text', in Ricouer, P. & Thompson, J. (Eds.) (1981) Hermeneutics and the human sciences, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.
- (61) Ibid. p. 198.
- (62) Handy (1987)
- (63) See, for example, Harre, R. (1986) 'The step to social constructionism' in Richards, M. & Light, P. (1986) Children of Social Worlds, London; Polity Press. Shotter, J. (1984) Social Accountability and Selfhood, Oxford; Basil Blackwell.
- (64) As pointed out in Chapter Six, section iv.
- (65) Herrlitz, W. & Sturm, J. (1990), (op.cit). p.8.
- (66) Harre, R. & Secord, P. (1972) The Explanation of Social Behaviour, Oxford; Basil Blackwell.
- (67) Notably in Chapter Four and Chapter Five.
- (68) As defined by Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) The Ecology of Human Development, Cambridge; Harvard University Press. p. 21.
- (69) Mehan, H. & Wood, H. (1975) The Reality of Ethnomethodology, New York; John Wiley.
- (70) Ibid. p.65.
- (71) In Chapter Five.
- (72) Thus being a methodological parallel with the 'ecology' of cause and definition discussed in the previous chapters.
- (73) Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) (op.cit.), p.4.
- (74) The argument, developed in part in Chapter Six is that research at the microsystemic level should form the basic unit of analysis because the individual 'reality' of the disruptive student has its basis in social constructions (informed by the ecology of human development) which focus upon individual or small group interactions rather than macro-issues.
- (75) Carrier, J. (1984) 'Comparative Special Education : Ideology, Differentiation and Allocation in England and the United States', in Barton, L. and Tomlinson, S. (Eds.) (1984) Special Education and Social Interests, Beckenham; Croom-Helm. pp. 35-64. (p. 38).
- (76) Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) (op.cit.), pp.16-42.
- (77) Ibid. p. 26.
- (78) Bart, D. (1984) 'The Differential Diagnosis of Special Education : Managing Social Pathology as Individual Disability', in Barton, L. and Tomlinson, S. (Eds.) (1984) (op. cit.), pp. 81-121.
- (79) See DES (1981) Education Act, London; HMSO., and Education for All Handicapped Children Act (1975) (PI 94-142)
- (80) Sieber, S. (1973) 'The integration of fieldwork and survey methods' American Journal of Sociology, 78 (6), pp.1335-1359.
- (81) Ibid. p.1338.
- (82) Burgess, R. (1984), (op.cit.).
- (83) Tremblay, M (1957) 'The key informant technique : a non-ethnographic application', American Anthropologist, 59 (4), pp.688-701.
- (84) Foster, J. & Sheppard, J. (1980) 'Archives and the history of nursing' in Davies, C. (Ed.) (1980) Rewriting Nursing History, London; Croom Helm.
- (85) Ibid. p.211.
- (86) As Spindler & Spindler (1987) point out : 'Ethnographic approaches to the study of education, as a subset of qualitative research, have surged to prominence only in the past decade. They have raised new questions and provided some answers that correlational and



- experimental research designs did not'. See Spindler, G. & Spindler, L. (1987), (op.cit.), (p. xi).
- (87) Le Compte, M. & Goetz, J.(1982) 'Ethnographic data collection in evaluation research' Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 4, pp.387-400.
- (88) Ibid. p. 387.
- (89) Becker, H. (1958) 'Problems of inference and proof in participant observation', American Sociological Review, 23 (6), pp.652-660.
- (90) Ibid. p.652.
- (91)Pollard, A. (1985) 'Opportunities and Difficulties of a Teacher- Ethnographer : A Personal Account', in Burgess, R. (Ed.) (1985) Field Methods in the Study of Education, Basingstoke; Falmer. pp.217-234.
- (92) See Bulmer, M. (1979), (op.cit.).
- (93) As evidenced by Newson, J. & Newson, E. (1984) 'Parents' perspectives on children's behaviour at school' in Frude, N. & Gault, H. (Eds.) (1984) Disruptive Behaviour in Schools, Chichester; John Wiley. pp.99-116
- (94) Vidich, A. (1955), (op.cit.).
- (95) Ibid. p.357.
- (96)Allport, G. (1942) The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological, Science, Social Science Research Council Bulletin, 49, provides examples.
- (97)Early examples include those by Pons (1969) and Wilmott (1969). See Pons, V.(1969) Stanleyville - An African Community under Belgian Administration, London; Oxford University Press. Wilmott, P. & Young, M. Family and Class in a London Suburb, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (98)Burgess, R.(1982) 'Keeping Field Notes', in Burgess, R.(Ed.) (1982) Field Research : a Sourcebook and Field Manual, Hemel Hempstead; Allen & Unwin. pp.191-194.
- (99) Burgess, R. (1984), (op.cit.). pp.126-128.
- (100)Spindler, G. (1982) Doing the ethnography of schooling, New York; Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- (101) Ibid.
- (102) Allport, G. (1942), (op.cit.).
- (103) Gittus, E. (1972) Key Variables in Social Research, London; Heinemann.
- (104) In that the agenda is predetermined by the researcher.
- (105) Mayhew, H. (1851) London Labour and the London Poor, London; Griffin Bohn.
- (106) Webb, S. & Webb, B.(1932) Methods of Social Study, London; Longman Green
- (107) Palmer, V. (1928) Field Studies in Sociology : a Student's Manual, Chicago; University of Chicago Press. p.171.
- (108) Ibid. p.171.
- (109)For one account see Popeil, P.,Hollinger, J.,Loschi, G.& Crawford, D. (1983) 'A Sociometric Approach to Understanding Interpersonal Relationships In a Classroom for Emotionally Disturbed Pupils', The Pointer, 27 (3) pp. 5-12.
- (110) Cohen, L. (1976) Education Research in Classrooms and Schools, London; Harper & Row.
- (111) Ibid. p.190.
- (112) Lewin, K. (1938) The conceptual representation and the measurement of psychological forces, Durham; Duke University Press.
- (113) de Lauwe, P. (1952) Paris et l'Agglomeration Parisienne, Paris; Mouton
- (114) Boulding, K. (1956) The Image, Ann Arbor; University of Michigan Press.
- (115) See Chapter Six.
- (116)The 'marginalisation' has two parts : not only are the students offered a restricted set of achievement opportunities (eg. in the academic curriculum) but also the teachers of disruptive students have themselves been traditionally regarded as having a lower status, in a professional sense, than their counterparts teaching formal academic subjects.
- (117)If the researcher is going to maintain an ethical stance.
- (118)Vidich, A. (1955) 'Participant observation and the collection and interpretation of data', American Journal of Sociology, 60 (4), pp. 354-360.
- (119)Ibid. p.357.
- (120)See Jarvie, I. (1969) 'The problem of ethical integrity in participant observation', Current Anthropology, 10 (5), pp. 505-508.

- (121) Thus accepting the 'moral relativism' stated by Schwartz and Schwartz : the researcher must 'share.....sentiments and feelings with the observed on a sympathetic and empathic level'. See Schwartz, M. and Schwartz, C. (1955) 'Problems in participant observation', American Journal of Sociology, 60 (4), pp. 343-353. (p. 347).
- (122) Burgess, R. (1984) In the Field : An Introduction to Field Research, London; Unwin Hyman. (pp. 204-205).
- (123) Classically used in Whyte, W. (1943) Street Corner Society, Chicago; University of Chicago Press.
- (124) Ball, S. (1984) 'Beachside reconsidered : reflections on a methodological apprenticeship', in Burgess, R. (Ed.) (1984) The Research Process in Educational Settings : Ten Case Studies, Lewes; Falmer. (pp. 69-96).
- (125) Whyte gave his key informants access to his data prior to publication. See Whyte, W. (1943), (op.cit.).
- (126) Pollard, A. (1983) 'A Model of Coping Strategies', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 3 (1).
- (127) Freire, P. and Shor, I. (1987) A Pedagogy for Liberation, Basingstoke; Macmillan Educational. p. 183.
- (128) The flexibility of the research process does not, however, imply a lack of methodological rigour. This point is argued extensively by Evans, J. (1983) 'Criteria of Validity in Social Research : Exploring the Relationship between Ethnographic and Quantitative Approaches', in Hammersley, M. (1983) The Ethnography of Schooling, Driffield; Nafferton Books. (pp. 173-201).
- (129) Plummer, K. (1979) 'Misunderstanding Labelling Perspectives', in Downes, D. & Rock, P. (Eds.) Deviant Interpretations, London; Robertson.
- (130) Ibid. p.94.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT : THE RESEARCH.**

### **Introduction.**

This Chapter comprises details of the research programme undertaken in order to establish the opinions of two groups of disruptive students about their school experiences. Two case study schools were selected, one each in England and the United States. The Chapter provides an outline of the data collected, and it summarises both the context of the two schools and, more substantially, reports the views of the disruptive students concerning four aspects of their school experiences.

The Chapter is divided into three sections. The first section outlines the overall research plan. The second section provides a summary of the pilot study, together with a subsequent discussion on the selection of the methodology for the main research at case-study sites in England and the United States. In the final section, an indicative selection of data gathered at the two sites is presented. This is supported by a series of appendices containing the complete data.

### **i. THE RESEARCH PLAN.**

Data was collected in three stages. A pilot study was conducted in England during the period from March, 1989 to July 1989. This involved a total of 9 days attachment to a pilot-study school. Fieldwork proper was conducted in England and the United States in two subsequent stages. Between February, 1990 and October, 1990 a total of 6 working weeks was spent in each research site. Logistical problems meant that the English research site was visited in three blocks of two working weeks, whilst the total 6 consecutive weeks was spent in the research site in the United States.

The third stage of the research was completed between March. 1991 and December 1991. Each site was revisited, for a period equivalent to 4 working weeks. The English fieldwork was completed in four separate visits to the research site. The second period of fieldwork in the United States was conducted in a block of four working weeks.

A total of 10 working weeks was therefore completed in the two schools selected for the study.

## **ii. THE PILOT STUDY.**

The purpose of the pilot study was to examine a number of qualitative research techniques in a school setting which might subsequently be used in a comparative study. The theoretical underpinnings of these have been identified in Chapter Seven. Because the focus of the pilot- study was to examine the practicalities of the suggested methodology, it was not necessary to locate a pilot-study school whose characteristics matched those of the two research sites. Moreover, the pilot stage of the research was conducted only in England : again the rationale was that method rather than subject was the focus of inquiry during the pilot stage. What was important, however, was that each of the proposed research strategies should be examined in a school-setting, with students who had been termed disruptive. An assessment could then be made concerning the efficacy of their use in the two case-study sites in England and the United States in the main study.

The pilot study school was located in a market town about 60 miles from London, England. The school was a mixed comprehensive school with 850 students on its roll. Initial contact with the school was followed by the requisite LEA, school and parental permissions to engage in the research. Nine day visits were completed during which several interview schedules and techniques were field-tested.

A number of methodological issues were raised during the course of the pilot study, some of which had important implications for the main research. The first of these was the method by which disruptive students were to be identified as subjects for the study. Next, the appropriateness of eight data-gathering techniques, identified as potentially useable in the comparative case-study approach to be adopted in the main study, was investigated. These were :

The Research Diary.

Interview with Key Personnel.

Critical Biography

Semi-Structured Interviews with Disruptive Students  
(Including Informal Comments from Students).

Disruptive Student Case-Study.

Disruptive Student Diary / Teacher Diary.

Graphical Techniques.

Official Documents.

A number of potential difficulties were identified with each strategy, although there were rather more problems with some than others. The difficulties encountered can be generalised as either operational, in a single-site (ie. non-comparative) context, or as cross-cultural, in a dual-site (i.e. comparative) context. The key points relative to the identification of the students, and the eight data-gathering techniques, are outlined in the following nine sub-sections.

### **1. Selection of Disruptive Students.**

The definition of the term 'disruptive student' which has been adopted in this study is based upon context (1). Two methods of identifying a target group were investigated. In the first the Deputy Head (Pastoral) of the school was asked to provide names of male students from School Year 10-12 (i.e. aged from 14 to 16 years) who had been referred to the School Psychological Service for disruptive behaviour (2). Such referrals were made based upon Local Education Authority (LEA) guidelines regarding what comprised inappropriate or anti-social behaviour. A total of 7 students were identified in this way, of whom 3 had statements of special educational need (Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties) (3).

The second technique of selection investigated was to ask the teaching staff of the school (44 teachers, excluding the headteacher and three deputy headteachers) to confidentially provide names of those male students in Years 10 and 11 (i.e. aged 15-16 years) who they considered to be disruptive in the school. No explanation of the term 'disruptive student' was provided by the researcher, the definition being determined by the teachers themselves.

A total of 32 teachers responded (72%). 26 separate names were identified by the staff using this method. Two teachers provided the name of a female student, and one supplied the names of 2 male students in Year 9 : these were not included in the subsequent analysis.

This exercise suggested some discrepancy between the official view of what constituted a disruptive student and the opinions of classroom teachers. Of the 26 names provided by the teachers themselves, only 4 were students whose names had been supplied by the Deputy Head. At the same, time only 10 students were named more than 10 times of the teaching staff, indicating that identification depended upon both context and the perceptions of individual teachers (4).

The focus of the proposed research concerns the views of students who are termed disruptive. As the basic point of interaction in the microsystem is between the student and the classroom teacher (5), it therefore seemed logical to adopt the second process of identifying disruptive students. This approach is supported by the theoretical arguments advanced in this study regarding a working definition of the term disruptive student.

Finally, the second method of identification, locating the definition within individual teachers and schools, appeared to be more satisfactory in a comparative context, where the problem of widely different procedures and schedules for identification might possibly divert attention from the central thrust of the research.

12 students were thus identified by the teachers as being disruptive.

## **2. The Research Diary.**

This presented no operational difficulties, and some potential for comparative analysis was highlighted. The information obtained from the pilot-study school was data-rich, as a result of the need to record in 'real-time' rather than 'snapshots'. The methodological problem, therefore, was not what to record, but rather to establish a rationale for selecting specific aspects of the data. The data subsequently collected, however, identified four areas of school experience, to which the students made frequent reference. These were referred to by the students during informal discussions during the initial stage of the pilot-study. These were:

The Curriculum and Its Delivery.

The Personal and Professional Qualities of Teachers.

The Students' Interpretations of their Disruptive Behaviour.

School Organisation and Ethos.

It also became apparent that the four categories outlined by the disruptive students were those which the teachers in the pilot-study school also made frequent reference, in their discussions concerning disruptive students. Although the groupings were broad, and frequently overlapped, they appeared to provide a basis for comparative analysis. The four categories were, therefore, incorporated in the semi-structured interview schedule which was developed as the study progressed (see 5, below).

The research diary was used in the pilot study as the main data-recording instrument. As such it contained personal commentaries, outlines of critical incidents and notes on semi-

structured interviews with teachers and disruptive students. Extracts from the research diary of the main study could, therefore, be included in the appendices to the main study : in particular this would include the statements made by individual disruptive students.

### **3. Interviews with Key Personnel.**

During the pilot-study period two semi-structured interviews were undertaken, with the headteacher of the school and with an Senior Advisor for Special Educational Needs. The purpose of this was threefold. In the first instance, it was hoped that direct conversation with those individuals who make formal decisions about disruptive students would provide important details concerning an 'official' viewpoint, and the strategies which had been developed to deal with the problems posed by the disruptive students in the schools. Secondly, the efficacy of an semi-structured interview format could be examined. Finally, the process of identifying 'key' personnel, or informants could be refined.

Subsequently it became clear that the data obtained by this process, whilst useful in providing further context, was nevertheless inconsistent with the research undertaking. There are a number of possible reasons for this. In the first instance, the research follows an ecological style, which regards all data as potentially important in the resultant inductive discussion . It therefore seemed inappropriate that 'key' personnel, identified by the researcher prior to fieldwork, should form a substantive section of evidence. What appeared more suitable to the methodology was that such interviews should be conducted as research progressed, during which the key personnel who interact, either formally or informally, with the disruptive students would be identified.

A second qualification to this strategy was that it reinforced a hierarchical view regarding decision making. This study is one attempt to obtain the views of disruptive students in order to develop some understanding of their views regarding their school experiences. Whilst there is little doubt that, for such students in England and the United States, key professionals do make important judgements regarding placement, management strategy and curriculum provision, the argument, developed earlier in this study (6), is that an exploration of student reality provides important clues towards establishing both a rationale for the phenomenon and an indication of the potential of using such views in a school's organisational development.. As such the focus should remain on the views of the disruptive students themselves.

Finally, it may be argued that the identification of key personnel during the course of the main fieldwork might enable the research to be more sensitive to what may be widely

different school cultures and organisations. In particular, it might allow individuals who interact at an informal, rather than an official, level with the disruptive students to be included more substantively in the data gathering process. Valuable data might, therefore, be obtained by this means.

#### 4. Critical Biography.

In order to provide a framework to construct a semi-structured interview schedule, a number of biographical techniques were used during the pilot-study stage with the group of 12 students who had been identified by the teachers as disruptive.

The students were first asked to write a completely unstructured account of 'important events in my life'. The results suggested that the framework was too broad : only 3 students referred to events within school, for example.

The second stage provided the students with a more specific task. They were asked to write a list of what they considered to be the 10 most important things that had happened to them during their last two terms in school. This was more successful. 4 students provided 10 events, 2 provided over 7 and 2 students indicated at least 5 important events. One student refused to participate in the second exercise, whilst 3 were absent when the second task was presented.

The range of 'critical events' remained broad, but proved instructive in the construction of the semi-structured interview schedule. The critical events are summarised in Figure iii, below.

| Critical Event  | n |
|---|---|
| Argument with named teacher                                     | 8 |
| Beginning a new school  | 6 |
| Making new friends  | 6 |
| Success in sport  | 5 |
| Computers and IT  | 4 |
| Being Suspended   | 4 |
| Going on a school trip  | 4 |
| Work Experience   | 3 |
| CDT   | 3 |
| Fights with other schools                                       | 3 |
| Playing Truant  | 2 |
| Representing school at sport                                    | 2 |
| Meeting a girl  | 1 |
| The school 'riot'   | 1 |
| Critical Events Chosen : n = 14      Individual Choices : n =66 |   |

Figure (iii) : Critical Events of Disruptive Students (Pilot study)



The results of this exercise were useful in indicating initial support for the view that not all disruptive students are anti-school all of the time. In fact 9 events represent 'positive' school experiences. These figures would therefore seem to support the view, outlined in Chapter Four, that disruptive students are not disruptive all of the time, and frequently maintain positive attitudes to school. This was subsequently to become an important focus of the findings in both case-study schools in the main research.

From the point of view of a comparative study, the use of biographies of disruptive students suggested a relatively straightforward analytical tool which could be used effectively in a case-study approach (see sub-section 6). In particular, it offered potential for gathering data for the individual student case-studies, which were to be used in the two schools in the main study.

## **5. Interviews with Disruptive Students.**

Six of the twelve students, identified as disruptive by the school staff, were interviewed during the pilot study. An initial interview schedule was developed using (i) previous professional experiences with disruptive students (ii) theoretical guidelines obtained from the literature (iii) information gathered from critical biographies (iv) data from the research diary and (v) the responses to the 'critical event' question, in 4, above.

The pilot interviews indicated that the disruptive students did not respond satisfactorily to either a tightly-structured or a completely unstructured interview format. Responses of 'I don't know', 'It's alright I suppose' and 'I can't remember' occurred with some regularity. In certain cases the students were very wary of the 'official' sounding questions, and appeared cynical about the research motive.

As a result, subsidiary or 'prompting' questions had to be included. Whilst this enabled more data to be acquired, it also meant that the interview became less dynamic, and the students tended to lose interest after about 10-12 minutes. Moreover, there was a possibility that the responses from the students could be 'researcher led'. It was, therefore, felt that a semi-structured interview might offer the most suitable format within which to gather the students' views. Prompting questions, from the schedule, were only used when the student struggled to articulate a response. The four areas of disruptive student experience, indicated during the course of the pilot study, provided the focus for the semi-structured conversations. These comprised :

1. The Curriculum and its Delivery.
2. Personal and Professional Qualities of Teachers.

3. Students Interpretations of their Disruptive Behaviour.

4. Organisation and Ethos of the School.

The likelihood that these might be a successful means of comparative analysis has already been noted (18). A conversation schedule, based upon the four aspects of school experience was then refined for use in the final study. An example of this is provided in Appendix (E)

## **6. Case Studies of Disruptive Students.**

The disruptive student case-study was used in the pilot-study school to provide a specific illustration of some of the interactions which the student undertakes in his overall ecosystemic context. Because of time constraints and a student absence, only one case-study was completed. The schedule for the case study comprised the following sections :

- i. Information from Primary school records.
- ii. Existing Secondary School records.
- iii. Background details (obtained from existing pastoral records & by conversation with Head of Year).
- iv. Verbal comments from current subject teachers and other professionals.
- v. An illustrative transcript.

Much of the information sought had already been obtained by the research techniques described in previous sub-sections. Whilst the student case-study was not regarded as central to the process of acquiring information concerning student reality, it became clear that the use of such an illustrative model might provide a supporting means of comparative analysis. It offered an indication that various characteristics of two disruptive student case-studies could be compared.

## **7. Disruptive Students' Diaries / Teachers' Diaries.**

Diaries, to be maintained during the course of research in the pilot-study school by the two groups most involved in the process and product of interaction (students and teachers), were seen at the outset of the pilot study to provide a useful means of validating the research diary of the participant observer. However, two important logistical and ethical issues made this technique unsuitable. Firstly, the students were resistant to the idea of

'more writing'. Moreover, they were unwilling to provide what they regarded as 'evidence' of their supposed inappropriate behaviours. Secondly, the teachers had objections to the use of a personal diary. For them, time was a major factor, and concern was expressed about confidentiality. On reflection the diary was seen as a challenging and controversial method of acquiring information concerning disruptive students, but that this information could be obtained more easily elsewhere. It was, therefore, not regarded as suitable for the main study.

## **8. Graphical Techniques.**

Sociograms and concept maps were used in the pilot study at various points. They were particularly useful in the classroom or corridor context as an aide memoire, or as supporting evidence of a specific interaction. As such they were incorporated from time to time in diary notes maintained by the researcher, and were seen as a supporting technique, rather than one from which a subsequent comparative analysis could be made.

## **9. Key Documents**

During the pilot-study a range of official documents was obtained from both the school and the LEA. These related to (i) the school in general and (ii) disruptive students in particular. For the purposes of the main study five areas of documentation were identified :these were (a) aims of the school (b) details of school organisation, (c) list of teaching staff and teaching areas, (d) policy statements relating to disruptive students and (e) code of conduct for all students. All five were subsequently used in the main study to provide a school-based context, and an indication of the official view concerning disruptive students in the two case-study sites.

## **Summary.**

The pilot-study provided evidence that several of the proposed techniques would not be methodologically or ethically viable in the main study. Other approaches indicated problems for subsequent comparative analysis : it should be noted that the major question of cross-cultural or cross-national analysis of case-studies did not form part of the pilot work. Nevertheless, a number of important issues were raised, enabling a methodological plan to

be formulated. This incorporated a number of the techniques for data collection which had been previously tested. These can be summarised as follows :

1. MACROSYSTEMIC and EXOSYSTEMIC CONTEXT : (i) Official Documents.  
(ii) Interviews (Key Personnel)
2. MESOSYSTEMIC CONTEXT : (i) Official School Documents.  
(ii) Interviews (Key Personnel).
3. MICROSYSTEMIC CONTEXT : (i) Semi-structured interviews with disruptive students. (ii) Case-study of disruptive students.

In addition, the research diary, maintained during the course of fieldwork at the two case-study locations, would contain not only general observations relating to both schools, but also individual verbatim comments from teachers relating to disruptive students. These were to be used during data analysis to illustrate points of similarity and difference between the views of the students and those of their teachers.

The pilot study enabled the use of a set of qualitative techniques for data collection to be assessed in one research location. It also provided some indications that two aspects of the subsequent comparative study concerning disruptive students in England and the United States would become particularly important : the differences between the views of the students and the official explanations of the phenomenon, and the resulting discrepancy between micro- and macro- theorising.

The third section of this Chapter reports on the research, conducted in the two case-study sites in England and the United States. The data collected, with its supporting contextual information, defines the micro-systemic and mesosystemic focus of the ecosystemic experience of the two groups of disruptive students.

### **iii. THE RESEARCH DATA.**

In this section of the Chapter an outline of the research data from the two case-study sites in England and the United States will be provided. The data has been gathered using the techniques described in the previous section. The data primarily focusses upon the statements of disruptive students concerning four aspects of their schooling identified during the pilot-study. These are :

- (i) The Curriculum and its Delivery.
- (ii) Personal and Professional Qualities of teachers.
- (iii) Interpretations of disruptive Behaviour.
- (iv) School Organisation and Ethos.

The section is sub-divided into four parts. The first offers a rationale for the selection of the case-study sites. The macro- and exosystemic data concerning the two schools are provided in the next part of the section: this relates to the regional context of each school, and outlines recent responses at this level to the problems posed by disruptive students in the two locations. Each school is described in the third part of the section. Data relevant to this is contained in a number of appendices. Because of the volume of information obtained, this will sometimes be in selected or abbreviated form; this is acknowledged as appropriate.

The microsystemic level forms the major source of data and this comprises the remainder of this section. The data comprises firstly the statements of the disruptive students from each case-study site. Four categories of statements are provided, and these are exemplified in the text : the remainder of the statements are contained in appendices. Secondly, two illustrative case-studies of disruptive students are provided, in order that specific micro-contexts of the disruptive students from each site may be illustrated.

The data gathered during the course of fieldwork in the two research sites is presented alternately from England and the United States. By this means a sense of comparative contextualising may be developed.

#### **(i) Selection of Case-Study Sites : England and the United States.**

For the purposes of this study two research sites were selected; arguments have been offered earlier for the use of such case-study methodology in comparative research in Chapter Seven, section ii.

In England, a school in the coastal North West was identified. Ribbleside High School (RHS) is situated in Whitebrook, a town of 65,000 inhabitants. When the research began the school's student roll was 670 and there were 43 members of the teaching staff. RHS is one of 37 secondary schools within Bowland Local Education Authority, which is predominantly rural but with 6 towns of over 15,000 population and 11 towns of over 5,000 population.

The town of Whitebrook has an industrial base, which was established in part by its role as a seaport in the 18th and 19th centuries, by shipbuilding and by serving the needs of its agricultural hinterland.

In the United States, a school in the Pacific North West was selected. Clearwater Valley High School (CVHS) is located in Clearwater, a city of 57,000 inhabitants. The number of students on roll at the commencement of the research was 730, and there was a teaching staff of 62 full-time Faculty members. CVHS is one of 9 high schools (6 Junior High and 3 Senior High) in Rainier Public School District.

The economy of the region surrounding Clearwater is predominantly dependent upon agriculture, forestry and market gardening but the locality contains a number of small cities with a tradition of naval engineering, together with a range of light and high-technology engineering enterprises.

Both sites have a number of similarities. Whilst this does not suggest that cross-national or regional inferences can be made on this basis, it nevertheless provides a straightforward means of comparison. Both research sites are located in small (50-75,000 population) towns. They are located in an area of their country where the economy is predominantly based upon agriculture, but with important industrial exceptions. Each case-study site may be classified as a small to medium-sized (500 to 750 students) educational institution, which caters for the full ability range in the secondary (England) and senior high (United States) school phases.

In both schools the target population for the study was male students, aged 14-16 years, who were identified by their teachers as being disruptive students. Once identified as such, the students had been educated within the school, either as part of a mainstream class or in a withdrawal group. None of the target group had been formally categorised under special education legislation in their respective countries.

The next part of the section provides information concerning the broad educational characteristics of each research site, with particular reference to disruptive students.

#### **(ii)a. The Macrosystemic and Exosystemic Context (England).**

The historical context for the response of the English education system to the phenomenon of the disruptive student has already been noted in Chapter Two, sections ii and iii, of this

thesis. Within that Chapter a range of concerns relating to special education issues was identified. These, it was noted, were being expressed at a national level by both by professional-interest groups and by other sections of the community (25). This marks the macrosystemic, or ideological, context.

The exosystemic or regional context should also be viewed with this in mind. In particular the national educational climate in the period from 1980 onwards should be noted (7). During that time the Elton Committee was established in England, in order to investigate discipline in schools (8). This was done against a background of increasing concern regarding both academic curriculum matters (9) and a perceived decline in standards of behaviour in schools. Both are indicative of a preoccupation with the school as a unit of production, where educational output is quantified by a set of performance indicators for effective schools. One of these was the level of problem behaviour by students within the school (10). A set of contextual events, which illustrates this situation, is outlined in Appendix A.

The official response by the Bowland Local Education Authority (LEA) to these national initiatives was varied. The LEA had already commissioned a Report in 1976 entitled 'Problem Pupils in Our Secondary Schools'. The report recommended the establishment of eight 'behavioural units', two in each quadrant of the County. Such units were to be 'off-site' provision for students of secondary school age, whose behaviour in school was regarded as unacceptable. In other words, the units were to be physically separated from their feeder, mainstream secondary schools. The units were operative from September, 1978. Each comprised a Teacher-in-Charge and two assistant teachers. Disruptive students were referred directly to the units by local secondary schools, after consultation with the Schools' Psychological Service.

In 1982 the Chief Inspector for Bowland LEA announced funding for eight teachers to work 'on-site' in secondary schools throughout the LEA. This initiative was partly as a result of the implications of The Warnock Report (11) and the 1981 Education Act (12). But, at the same time, the County's Chief Education Officer indicated that no formal policy for working with disruptive students actually existed. The 1982 initiative was intended as part of a County-wide response to the problem.

By September, 1983, the LEA had appointed all eight 'behavioural support staff'. In three quadrants of the LEA the teachers responded on a peripatetic basis to the needs of individual schools. The fourth quadrant, containing the case-study school, established an on-site unit for disruptive students in a secondary school. This was staffed by one full-time

teacher from the 'behavioural support team', with support from the existing staff of the school.

No further changes to this County 'policy' have been made to date. In 1987 the LEA announced the intention to monitor and evaluate the work of its 'behavioural support team'. This move towards accountability was also indicated by the Review Panel (1990), set up in order to research the feasibility of additional funding for work with disruptive students. This has yet to report (August, 1992)

#### **(ii)b. The Macrosystemic and Exosystemic Context (United States).**

In Chapter Two an overview of Federal responses to the phenomenon of the disruptive student in the United States was presented. During the period from 1970-1990 increasing concerns had been expressed by both politicians and by educational professionals concerning the incidence of a wide range of behaviours by students who were regarded as disruptive (13).

Included in this was a category of students who may be the cause of school disruption and who were termed 'at risk' students. In 1983 'A Nation At Risk' was published. Although it contained only oblique references to disruptive students, it did nevertheless point to the need to provide disciplinary frameworks for school students (14). As in England, the Report was commissioned at a time when a focus was being placed upon schools to become more responsive to the nation's economic needs : disruptive behaviour in schools, it argued, interfered with the process of education and training, designed in part to meet such requirements (15).

As a response to 'A Nation At Risk', and to the climate of public and professional opinion existing at that time (16), Lincoln State initiated a number of state-wide programmes to improve general education for all students. In a report to the State legislature in April, 1984, the State Board of Education proposed, as part of its response, that

Legislation should provide for improved classroom discipline  
Parents of truants must be notified. Expulsion is recommended  
for serious physical injury, possession of firearms or other  
weapons, unlawful sale of controlled substances and robbery or  
extortion. Legislation should also provide an effective policy  
to combat dropouts. (17)

The State Board of Education recommended that Enforcement of existing laws and regulations on discipline and of new codes by local districts would be overseen by the State. (18) and that there should be



The formation of a 'Lincoln Commission on Educational Excellence', which could make recommendations on student instruction, management and discipline. (19)

At this point it can be noted that, whilst individual States in the United States may take 'direction' from Federal initiatives, they may vary in the extent to which such initiatives are operationalised. They may not, however, openly contradict Federal law. The range of responses to 'A Nation at Risk', for example, is well documented in a National Commission on Educational Excellence (NCEE) review (20). Similarly, at School Board level within States, the individual autonomy of the School Board is retained, providing that the key elements of Federal Law are maintained.

The Rainier School District's Task Force on Dropouts (TFD), inaugurated in 1985, provided a range of possible solutions to a problem which was regionally acknowledged by teachers and educational administrators. Whilst not relating specifically to disruptive student behaviour in schools, it has been indicated elsewhere that drop-outs from both junior and senior high schools are prone to problematic school behaviours.

The (TFD) assisted in the exchange of information regarding successful intervention programmes within the State. Additionally, support was given to schools in refining their School Discipline Programs (SDP) to take into account changing student and teacher expectations.

Parts (ii)a. and (ii)b of this Chapter have both provided information concerning the broad context (macrosystemic and exosystemic) within which the two case-study schools operate. They suggest that both schools adopt procedures and organisational structures which reflect their macro- and exosystemic contexts. The mesosystemic context, which comprises such procedures and structures within the schools, will be examined in the next two parts of the section.

#### **(iii)a. Ribbleside High School (RHS) : a Mesosystemic Outline.**

Contextual data relating to the school's organisation is contained in Appendix B. This comprises outlines of the school aims, its organisation and staffing structures, and details of its Code of Conduct for all students. Additionally, the arrangements currently in place for managing disruptive students are given.

The formal response of the school's senior management team to those of its student population who are termed disruptive dates from 1978. RHS was served, from that year, by an off-site unit, situated about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from the main school campus. The unit was staffed by a Teacher-in Charge and supported by one other teacher and .5 (half time) 'supply' cover.

The off-site unit at RHS was seen by the Headteacher as a strategic resource, to which disruptive students were referred after discussions with subject teachers and pastoral staff from the main school, and after some consultation with parents. No formal LEA permissions were required.

The range of behaviours which caused students to be referred to the off-site unit was varied, from continued 'gross insolence' in class, fighting, being 'disruptive' in class and 'losing control', to drug-related offences and truancy. Referrals were open-ended in terms of time, and usually involved male students aged 13 to 16. The official referral procedure at RHS indicated that 'pupils whose behaviour necessitates immediate removal from the main school' and 'pupils who have a background of long-term disruptive behaviour' would be referred to the unit (21).

In 1983 the 'off-site' provision was replaced by an 'on-site' unit on the main campus of RHS. A new Head of Support Unit was appointed, and, following a Senior Management Review, in October, 1983, a policy statement was issued (see Appendix B v.).

The role of the Headteacher of RHS, Mr. Farmer, was crucial in these events (22). He viewed 'disruptiveness' as an important issue in his school, expressing concern over the inadequacies of the off-site provision for his students. He regarded the existence of such a unit as helping to 'maintain a ghetto mentality' as well as stating that it was 'clearly out of step with developments elsewhere in the country as a result of the 1981 Act'.

Mr. Farmer suggested that his 1983 initiative (the 'on-site' unit) was an experiment, which the LEA had expressed no clear policy upon. As a result of staff pressure to maintain some kind of provision for disruptive students (as exemplified in a resolution from the RHS Staff Association dated February, 1983) and the need to take some initiative which brought school policy into line with post-1981 Education Act developments, he had decided to 'have a look at the effectiveness of on-site provision'. At the same time Mr. Farmer gave voice to the fears that 'a number of my staff' doubted that such integration measures would be successful.

It is important, at this stage, to acknowledge that the 'on-site' unit at RHS functioned in the context of a whole-school disciplinary procedure. This included not only a 'Code of Conduct' for all students, but also a set of guidelines to all staff concerning the line-management of problem behaviours (see Appendix B iv.). Moreover, it is noteworthy that the official written school policy for its newly designated 'on-site' unit for disruptive students was that which was inherited from its 'off-site' unit.

During the research-attachment to RHS both the role of the 'on-site' unit and the processes of the disciplinary system were to become key elements in the identification and subsequent qualitative analysis of the views of the school's disruptive students'.

**(iii)b. Clearwater Valley High School (CVHS) : a Mesosystemic Outline.**

Contextual data relating to the school's organisation is contained in Appendix C. This comprises an outline of the school aims, its organisation and staffing structure, and details of its Student Responsibility Code and Learning Contract. Additionally, details are provided which relate to the school's Resource Room Arrangements, to which disruptive students are referred.

From its origin in 1974, CVHS had distributed information to all new students relating to the school's disciplinary practices. From that year also, parents were required to sign a 'cooperative statement' concerning the academic and social progress of their son or daughter. In the same year a Faculty Discipline Committee (FDC) was inaugurated at CVHS (see Appendix A ii) : its purpose was to function alongside the academic procedures of the school.

In 1982 the school's administrators included within that statement a draft outline of a School Disciplinary Code (SDC) (see Appendix C). This was developed by a working group comprising teachers, parents, students and administrators. The key elements of this were a set of rules for all students, outlined in a Student Responsibility Code and a Learning Contract, which outlined the school's expectations of its students, the teachers and the parents (see Appendix C iv and v).

A Resource Room for 'In School Suspension', referred to as 'ISS' by teachers and students) has been an integral part of disciplinary processes at CVHS. Its purpose (see Appendix C vi) has been to provide a practical alternative to out-of-school suspension for less serious infractions by removing disruptive students from the class. Alongside this it provided a continual educational programme and an opportunity to change inappropriate behaviour. Appendix C vi. indicates that students will be referred to ISS 'as a result of

failure to conform to the Student Responsibility Code or as a result of being in breach of the Student/Teacher/Parent Contract'.

The Principal of CVHS, Mr. Deakins, regarded ISS as an integral and constructive part of the overall disciplinary process (23). He commented that

Our system of discipline operates well. The students know what our expectations are, and know that transgressions can be dealt with fairly and quickly. The ISS system is an effective way of monitoring problem students, and it acts as a buffer zone to out-of-school suspension.

Mr. Deakins expressed the view that discipline issues at CVHS needed to be considered in the context of a region which traditionally did not have major discipline problems in its schools :

Fortunately we are a school in a small city and don't attract the problems of the large metropolitan areas. So you could say we are under less stress.

Moreover, the Principal felt able to state that ;

The students own the program, in that it is an integral component of our SDC, which the student body actively contribute to.

In organisational terms, the system of ISS provided an alternative environment for students who were regarded by the school as disruptive. Students assigned to ISS at CVHS are isolated from the rest of the student body as far as possible. Two teachers share responsibility for administering the programme; each spend half their teaching time on the programme, and the remainder on other school duties.

A specific room was allocated for ISS, and only 6 students at any given time were allocated to the programme. It was not usual for all placements to be taken in a given week.

Class assignments were obtained prior to placement on the programme. Mrs. Freidel, the programme head, suggested that

Very few of our students serve in-school suspensions without the appropriate academic materials being made available to them. (24)

This academic work, when completed, was usually graded by the subject specialist.

In addition to academic input, ISS students received counselling. Individual counselling was usual, although group counselling was used when the programme staff perceived that students had common problems and common reasons for referral. Such sessions were directed towards reasons for referral, behavioural expectations and how to cope acceptably with problem situations that arose in school.

The ISS programme at CVHS placed a number of restrictions on students assigned to the programme. They were prohibited from participating in extra-curricular activity and were required to take lunch breaks separately from the main student body.

#### **(iv) The Microsystem : The Views of Disruptive Students at RHS and CVHS.**

The previous parts of this section have outlined a series of features which have been theorised as the macrosystemic, exosystemic and mesosystemic characteristics of the two research sites in this study. These have provided essential context for a consideration of the main body of data, obtained from the disruptive students themselves. These are now presented. The data, gathered using the techniques outlined in Section ii. of this Chapter, is presented in two parts. Firstly, an indicative list of student statements is provided, in order to illustrate the range of opinions that they have expressed concerning the four aspects of their schooling previously identified in the Pilot Study as the main areas of disruptive student comment. Appendix F. contains the complete set of student statements from both schools.

Secondly, two indicative examples of disruptive student case-study are provided. These help to illustrate not only the ecosystemic features referred to in Chapters Two to Six, but also serve to provide the individual contexts for a small group of students from each school, thereby allowing parallels and differences to be noted between the two groups. The remaining four student case studies are presented in Appendix G. An analysis of the complete set of data is provided in Chapter Nine.

Prior to this, however, the task of selecting the disruptive students from each school requires some comment. The problems related to this have already been examined in the pilot-study (25). The concept of the term disruptive student has already been referred to as being, in part, the product of time, place and individual perception. The rationale for adopting this (apparently) subjective process of identifying disruptive students rests, therefore, on the understanding, theorised in Chapter Five, that the categorisation of any student as disruptive remains largely a subjective process in both countries.

Using this principle, the staff of both Ribbleside High School (RHS) and Clearwater Valley High School (CVHS) were asked to identify those students who they personally considered to be disruptive, either in class or at other times during the school day. At RHS this task was completed by 32 of the 43 teachers (74%) in the school. At CVHS 51 out of 62 teachers (82%) returned completed identification slips. Responses were elicited in

writing and confidentially. Using this information, 12 students whose names appeared most frequently on the teacher returns were identified as the target group in each school. No attempt was made to determine why individual teachers had identified particular students as disruptive.

For the purposes of the study each student was then identified alphabetically. This allowed confidentiality to be maintained. In order that any subsequent student conversation transcripts and diary observations did not become impersonal, a first name was given to each student on the basis of an alphabetical notation (A = Alan, B = Bernard etc). (see Appendix D).

Comments from disruptive students in both schools were obtained using two methods. Firstly, each student was interviewed using the semi-structured interview schedule, refined during the Pilot Study and illustrated in Appendix E. Secondly, informal comments by disruptive students were recorded in the research diary during the course of fieldwork at each research site. Each statement was coded according to the topic to which it related and corresponding to the four areas of student comment previously identified as (1) Curriculum and its Delivery, (2) Personal and Professional Qualities of Teachers, (3) Students' Views concerning Disruptive Behaviour, and (4) Organisation and Ethos of the School (26).

The complete set of data obtained using both collection methods is provided in Appendix F, whilst set of indicative data from the disruptive students' comments from each category and two exemplar student case-studies are given below. These are provided in the text of this thesis as illustrations of the range of data acquired by using the qualitative techniques outlined in section ii of this Chapter.

## **DISRUPTIVE STUDENTS' STATEMENTS.**

### **1. THE CURRICULUM AND ITS DELIVERY.**

I can't read the books I'm given and I can't do the work. (RHS)

I never go to Science. It's fucking useless. (RHS)

There's too much supply teachers and not the teachers we need. (RHS)

None of us take no notice and we learn off each other. (RHS)

In most lessons I work and I enjoy things. (RHS)

They say I've got neat work and I'll do well. (RHS)

My teachers teach the material too fast. (CVHS)

Why have we got to do this junk anyway ? (CVHS)

It's boring. I don't care about all that stuff. (CVHS)

The boring classes are Math and Technology. I cut them a lot. (CVHS)

I want to do well at school. (CVHS)

I learn a lot in class and I really like Math but not reading. (CVHS)

## **2. PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL QUALITIES OF TEACHERS.**

The teachers let the pupils get away with too much. (RHS)

There are teachers who can't discipline. (RHS)

I don't like teachers getting angry 'cos then they've lost control. (RHS)

She (teacher) called me a bitch an' that's out of order. (RHS)

I don't think it's the teachers fault because they're under pressure. (RHS)

I like teachers who listen to what I've got to say. (RHS)

He can't cope at all and we know that. (CVHS)

They never wait to hear my explanation. (CVHS)

He's always yelling at the class to do this or that. (CVHS)

Some teachers apply the rules real strict. (CVHS)

He wears neat clothes and he's interesting. (CVHS)

He looks after us when things aren't going well. (CVHS)

## **3. VIEWS CONCERNING DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR.**

If you disturb a lesson you deserve to get sent out. (RHS)

The boys are the worst because they're more daring. (RHS)

I only do it (misbehave) when he takes no notice of me. (RHS)

You know who you can mess about with and who you can't. (RHS)

It's just the teachers showing who's boss. (RHS)

The worst thing that anyone can do is punch a teacher. (RHS)

It's like a game. (CVHS)

School rules are too strict, man. (CVHS)

Things sometimes get out of hand. Some guys take it too far. (CVHS)

The worst offence is causing trouble in class. (CVHS)

Sometimes in class it's too heavy and I explode. (CVHS)

Sometimes we fight a bit, but it's nothing serious. (CVHS)

## **4. SCHOOL ORGANISATION AND ETHOS.**

Sometimes I feel ashamed by the reputation of this school. (RHS)

The boys shouldn't have to wear school uniform. (RHS)

They should give us a room where we can smoke and play cards. (RHS)

I don't like the atmosphere in the school because you don't feel free. (RHS)

The best thing is being on the corridors and dodging the teachers. (RHS)

If we had better facilities we'd be good. (RHS)

A lot of the buildings are in real bad shape. (CVHS)

There's no facilities for guys like me here. (CVHS)

We don't have a real say in what goes on here. (CVHS)

School's a game we play, man. (CVHS)

We get a shit place and it shows what they think of us. (CVHS)

You've got to be cool to step around the rules. (CVHS)

A total of 901 statements were obtained from the disruptive students at RHS and CVHS. A quantitative summary of these is provided in Table A, page 227.

## THE ILLUSTRATIVE STUDENT CASE STUDIES : ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

### Introduction.

In order to illustrate the school context of the disruptive student in both England and the United States, two illustrative case-studies, selected from six individual student case-studies, are presented in this section.

Three student case-studies at each research site (Ribbleside High School and Clearwater Valley High School) were undertaken. Selection of these was made on the basis of the six students who had been named most frequently by the teachers in their schools as being 'disruptive' (see The Research Data, (vi) The Microsystem).

Each case-study comprises two sections. Firstly a historical background is provided. This enables the current position of the disruptive student at his school to be established by drawing upon critical biographical incidents. Existing school records, from both primary/elementary and secondary phases have been used for this purpose : all direct quotations in this section have been obtained from these (27).

The second section offers some recent events in the school career of the student, drawn from the period of observation in each school. This focusses upon 'student talk' rather than teacher commentary, and is illustrated by excerpts from transcripts of student conversation.



In order to provide a less clinical indication of the context or 'feel' of the classroom interaction, formal transcript notation has not been used, although some researcher observations and context details have been included. Chapter Nine contains an analysis of all six case-studies

### STUDENT CASE STUDY 1 : (ENGLAND) : Chris (d.o.b. 12.5.76).

#### 1. Historical Background.

Chris Thornton joined Ribbleside High School from Elleray Primary School in September, 1986. He came from a family of two sisters (both older) and a brother (younger). His mother and father, apart from a period of enforced separation, remained together in the family home (in spite of unspecified 'difficulties' in the marital relationship). The family lived in a semi-detached house on Primrose, a large low-density council estate to the east of the town. Whilst Mr. Thornton was currently (up to April, 1990) not working, Mrs. Thornton was employed in a local electrical goods wholesalers as a warehouse assistant.

Chris had been what the headteacher of Elleray had called 'an average sort of child.....not outstanding academically, nor problematic in his behaviour in class'. He had shown an interest in science, in model-making and was a keen participant in school plays. Both parents said that they had received no reports that Chris behaved any worse than the other students. The headteacher indicated that '....he sometimes got into mischief'.

When Chris joined RHS he had been placed in one of the mixed-ability first year groups. Student-records from Year Seven and Year Eight indicate an average level of academic performance. Chris's personal file contained a number of entries relating to problem behaviour in the classroom during these initial years at RHS.

One incident was reported by Mr. Smillie (Geography). During a Year Eight class Chris had maintained a constant level of interruption, causing him (Mr. Smillie) to halt the lesson to admonish him. Finally, Chris had been moved to another desk. The new arrangement did nothing to improve Chris's behaviour, and the student record indicates that after further interruptions Mr. Smillie asked Chris to leave the class. As he departed Chris spat at the teacher and swore loudly.

A second incident, later in the same year, also involved Mr. Smillie. Chris had been waiting with a number of other students outside a classroom awaiting the arrival of the English teacher (this was normal practice at RHS). There was a disagreement between two of the group, ending in a small fight (according to the record this was more a case of pushing and arguing rather than a fist-fight). Although Chris had not been one main protagonists he was, according to Mr Smillie who happened to be passing at the time, 'aiding and abetting this disturbance'. As a result of this incident all three boys were directed to the Deputy Head (Pastoral). Mr Smillie reported that Chris had said that he 'was going to sort him out after school'.

Finally, Chris had been involved in a case of bullying a younger student. The matter came to light after a number of Year Seven students had complained to their Head of Year that an older boy was terrorising one of their year. Although there was never any case of extortion of money, the Head of Year regarded the incident as sufficiently serious to involve both parents and the school's Education Welfare worker. Chris openly admitted these incidents but gave no reasons why he had become involved in this type of activity.

Chris Thornton is currently in Year Ten at RHS. Verbal reports were obtained from his subject teachers, his form tutor and his Head of Year. These indicate that Chris is underachieving academically and appears not to be very popular with his classmates. He is currently being 'withdrawn' from all subjects apart from Art, Drama and Craft, Design & Technology (CDT). The referral form indicates that the reason for his placement in the school's On-Site Unit is because of his 'provocative and disruptive behaviour in class' and his desire to 'antagonise other pupils and to be the focus of foolish behaviour'.

## 2 The Current Situation.

17.5.90 (a.m.) : Excerpt from Student Transcript.

Scenario : Chris Thornton is working in the On-Site Unit during time that he would, under normal circumstances, be spending in an English class. He is working with three other students (David, Harry and Ian). This group has been given a passage of prose to read; using this each student has to construct an essay which contains a 'mysterious stranger'. The work has been set by one of the English staff, and is supervised by Mrs. Eden. The boys are all

seated together in a carpeted area of the Unit. The transcript is taken from a point 8 minutes into the session. The boys are talking loudly and Mrs. Eden has instructed them to 'get on with your work or I'll have to separate you.....'.

PG. is seated at the teacher's desk, ostensibly checking register totals for Mrs. Eden.

Ian : When's break, Miss ?

(Mrs. Eden does not respond)

Ian : Hey, when's break (you soft cow) (softly) ?

(Mrs. Eden still does not respond).

Harry : She'll take na notice of you 'cos you're a piss 'ed.

Ian : Fuck off, Marley.

Harry : Yea, piss 'ed.

Chris : He's a crap head not a piss 'ed.

(Chris and Harry laugh loudly and Harry pushes Ian's school bag roughly along the floor underneath the desk).

Harry : That's why he's in here, ain't it ? That's why Bengo won't have him in the class.

Ian : At least I can do some of it (the work).

(Ian makes to create a separate space between himself and the others. Mrs. Eden glances across from her desk : she is looking at a number of papers : subsequently she told PG. that they were in connection with a case-conference which was due to take place later that day).

Ian : You'll have her across if you don't watch it (nudges Harry).

Harry : Miss, I can't think of owt else for this.

Mrs. Eden : Come and show me what you've done, Harry, then we'll see....

Harry : Nah, it's not ready yet.....hold up.

Chris : It's a load of bollocks really, ain't it Marley ?

(Chris gets up and proceeds to go across to the social area, slumping down on a reclining chair. Mrs. Eden sees him, and goes across to join him. They talk (PG. unable to hear this conversation). Chris returns to his work-space, sighing heavily).

Chris : Bengo's a shit teacher anyway. Look at this stuff he's given us. It's boring. We've already done it before.

Ian : Some of it's OK, better than answering questions. He's alright is Bengo, at least you can talk to him.

Chris : That's if you're a suck-up, Crossley.

Harry : Yeah.

Chris : That time we had him on the trip in York with Mrs Porter : well embarrassed Eh ? Bet he was giving her one...the old slag.

(Chris yawns, looks out of the window and taps foot gently on the footrest of the desk. He begins to scribble on the piece of work he has been attempting).

Chris : You got a felt, Marley ?

Harry : Ian's got 'em all. Hand 'em over Crossley.

(Harry laughs and snatches the felt-tip colouring pens. Chris uses them to draw on his work. He continues to tap his foot. Mrs. Eden looks over to the group).

Mrs. Eden : Come on, lads, settle down for another twenty minutes. Break time soon, then you can go and have a cigarette.

(She smiles and returns to her work).

David : How many pieces do we have to have in the file, Crossley ?

Ian : Dunno.

David : Miss, can I go and see Mr Benyon about the English file ?

Mrs. Eden : What do you want to know, David ?

David : How many pieces of work do you have to have to pass, Miss

Mrs. Eden : Eight I think...but they have to be decent, you can't just put anything in, you know. I'll check it out with Mr. Benyon and tell you after break, OK ?

David : Don't come in here afterwards.

Mrs. Eden : Well then, the next time you come in, OK ?

Ian : I've done six already, is that enough Mrs Eden ?

Mrs. Eden : I'll sort it out later. Just do your work, you've only got a bit to go. Settle down.

(There is a brief lull in the conversation. The boys appear to be working, apart from David who is looking out of the window). The silence is interrupted suddenly by Chris).

Chris : I've got a mysterious stranger in mine....it's Crossley's mum.

(Chris, David, Harry and Ian all laugh).

Chris : Nah, she's OK your old dear. She gave me that racer (bike) for nowt, you know.

Ian : Yea, its OK that is.

Chris : And she's fit an' all, not like Marleys coot.

(The boys all laugh again, and Harry good-naturedly hits Chris on the arm. Mrs. Eden gets up from her desk and approaches the group. They make no attempt to return to their work).

Mrs. Eden : Now lets see what you've been doing. I hope you've got some good stuff to show me. David, where's yours ?

David : Here, Miss. It aint finished yet.

Mrs. Eden : That's OK.

(Mrs. Eden takes the work and walks round the room, reading. The boys return to their work).

(There is a brief period of silence. From next door, (a Humanities (History) teaching area), can be heard sounds of students shouting and the raised voice of a teacher).

Chris : Go and sort 'em out Miss! Old Garvey can't cope again.

Harry : They should send some of them kids in here. Hey Miss, why doesn't Mrs Jones (Head of Faculty) send some of that lot in here ?

Chris : They ain't bad enough, that's why.

Mrs. Eden : This is really good, David. It's made me feel quite scared.

David : That's the point of the story, Miss.

Mrs. Eden : No, there's some excellent bits to this. You've left a lot of things up in the air, unanswered and that's good. Really mysterious.

(David looks down, and appears embarrassed at these compliments).

Mrs. Eden : I'll give you another ten minutes now, then I will pick another volunteer.

Ian : I've finished, Miss. You can read mine.

Chris : Who's your mystery man, Ian ?

Ian : It's a chap that we see on the allotment. All the kids are scared of him. He's a gypsy. He's got a dog.

Chris : That's not scary. You need the night, when its eerie, with wolves and vampires and stuff. It's no good having things which are ordinary, everyday life. It's stupid doing that.

Ian : No it aint. There's some good films about creepy people who are normal most of the time.

Chris : Like your mum ?

Ian : Piss off.

Mrs. Eden : Come on, lads. Let's get this finished before break. I want to see you all working.

David : I've finished, Miss.

Mrs. Eden : You can park yourself over here and help me.

(David joins Mrs. Eden at her desk. The other boys continue with their work)

(After a few moments Chris begins to fidget and becomes increasingly distracted. His piece of paper is covered now in grafitti and scribbles. He appears to be bored and on the look out for something to entertain him).

Harry : This is boring now, Miss

(Mrs. Eden does not acknowledge this remark).

Chris : Coffee time.

Harry : Yeah.

(Both boys move over to the social area. Harry begins to fill the kettle).

Mrs. Eden : Can you get on with the rest of your work lads....you can have a drink during breaktime.

(Both boys ignore this and continue to prepare drinks).

Ian : Get me one, Chris.

Chris : Fuck off, Crossley. You can make yours yourself.

Mrs. Eden : If I have to repeat myself there will be bother.

Chris : We just want a drink, Miss. It's nearly breaktime anyway.

Harry : We're tired now. Anyway, Bengo won't mark it (the work).

(At this point the bell rings for the end of the session. The four boys continue what they are doing, being unaware of the students movements outside on the corridor. After about 2 minutes the boys move outside, offering an informal 'goodbye' to their teacher and to me, which is the first direct acknowledgement by the students that they recognise my presence in the room).

**STUDENT CASE STUDY 2 : (UNITED STATES) : Dale (d.o.b. 17.4.75).**

### **1. Historical Background.**

Dale Rivers started school in September, 1980. His family were originally from Idaho, and his first elementary school was in Post Falls (Id) : four months after entry the family moved to Clearwater and Dale was enrolled at Belle View Elementary School. He subsequently attended Grantdale Junior High School and transferred to CVHS when his parents moved across the city in May, 1988.

The family home was in the Newman District of Clearwater. This is an area of mainly mobile home sites set in the west of the city. The Rivers' home is shared with Mr. River's brother and his female companion. Apart from Mr. Rivers, who works in a local timber yard, and Mrs. Rivers who works part-time in a nearby diner, the family comprises Dale and two older brothers, one of whom still lives in the family home.

Dale received favourable reports from Belle View Elementary School. His class teacher indicated that he had 'a gift for the written word' and that he 'usually worked well in class' and met the learning targets that she set. She did, however, note that he appeared to be a loner, who seemed to find relationship-building difficult.

On joining CVHS Dale gave some indications of the problems to come. In June, 1988, barely one month after he was enrolled at the school, he was involved in two fights : one of these occurred during a Environmental Studies class, the other a few days later in the school's meeting place for students. On each occasion Dale's parents were invited to the school in order to discuss the incident, and Dale was required to spend two weeks on in-school suspension. During this time, however, Dale maintained his academic progress.

The following September Dale was again referred for ISS. Again the problem was that he had been involved in a fight in which one student had been cut by a knife. Other students who had witnessed the fight, which occurred after school hours but on the school premises, indicated that Dale had provoked the confrontation by name-calling a girl friend of one of his class-mates. The resultant fight involved three other male students, all of whom had sided against Dale.

Meanwhile Dale's academic work had begun to suffer. He had always received good grades for English ('Dale was one of my best students....he was very imaginative in what he wrote' : Mrs. Populov, English teacher), Art and Social Studies. His grades for General Science and Mathematics, although only average, disguised considerable effort on his part ('Dale is a hard-working student who is punctual, attentive and motivated' : Mr. Ellsworth, Mathematics teacher.

Dale continued to be involved in a range of minor breaches of the SDC throughout 1989, punctuated by occasional outbursts where he became threatening and abusive to teachers and fellow students. At no stage, however, is there a record of him being referred for psychological help.

In September,1990, Dale was spending 10 sessions per week on ISS. This was with the cooperation of Mr. & Mrs. Rivers, who had a record of supporting CVHS in their efforts with Dale. The reason for Dale's placement on ISS was because of his "sometimes erratic and unpredictable behaviour....which sometimes resulted in unacceptable violence towards fellow students and Faculty" (Mr. Hollings, Assistant Principal).

## **2. The Current Situation.**

23.9.90 (a.m.) : Excerpt from Student Transcript.

Scenario : Dale Rivers is in the Resource Room (ISS) at CVHS. He is

working, in the company of two other students, Maury and Daniel, on a Social Studies assignment. All three students are seated at workstations along one side of the Resource Room. Mrs. Freidel, who is in charge of the Resource Room (ISS) is sat with Maury. The transcript is taken 16 minutes into the class, the students having previously been discussing a range of non-academic topics whilst seated in a leisure area in one corner of the room. PG. is in the Resource Area preparing a Geography worksheet for a Grade 8 student. Throughout the duration of the transcript PG is approached once by a student, Mary, who passes no comment.

(At the start of this excerpt, Mrs. Freidel asks Dale and Daniel to continue their work. Both students ignore her, and continue to talk about a non-work related matter. Mrs. Friedel continues to work with Maury, occasionally looking along to the other students).

Maury : Come on guys. Wedder'll be mad if we don't do the paper.

Dale : Yeah?

Mrs. F : Now that's good advice, Dale. Check out the chart to get some figures on where the fires are. Then you can see if you can find an account in a newspaper or journal.

Dale : This won't be worth much. Wedder's gonna fail me again. And I like Social Studies.....I can do it.

Mrs. F : Well, just you go ahead and prove her wrong Dale. Go on..... Just do it.

(Mrs. Freidel gets up and moves across the Resource Room....looks out of the window).

Daniel : Fuckin' shit. Say, where's Tommy? He's outta it again.

Dale : Seein' his woman I guess. He's kinda cool you know. And Paula's neat too.

Daniel pushes Dale. Both students exchange obscenities).

Mrs. F : C'mon you guys. It'll soon be recess. We're making no progress.

Daniel : (Ignores her) Yeah, she's a whore all right. She's gone with all the guys. Tommy's only next in line.

Dale : Nah. She's neat alright. In Silvo's class she sussed him out alright 'cos he'd been getting on to us guys for no reason. She's one of us. She's cool.

Daniel : She still screws anyone.

Mrs. F : Hey, guys! Social Studies.....c'mon.

Dale : Wedder's projects always drag out man. I'm sick.

Maury : You mean you can't handle it. You're sick in the head Rivers.

Dale : Nah. I'm sick of schooling and everything. I'm sick of Estenson, sick of a whole bunch of them.

Mrs. F : Just hang in, Dale. Just who do you like ? What do you like to do ?



Dale : Poppy's neat. She's a real English teacher, man. She's not on at me all the time.

Daniel : Yeah. An' she looks at stuff we do. Why....she gives us grades.. .....she reads 'em.

Dale : Yours aint worth reading, Dan. (Laughs).

Daniel : They are too. Hey man, just 'cos you're fuckin' up all your papers don't mean we all are.

Dale : Poppy was good. Now Silvo.....he's sick man. He's doin' nothing for us guys. (Mrs. Freidel moves across the Resource Room to Dale and Daniel. She draws up a chair. Maury gets up from his seat and goes to a bookshelf display).

Dale : Maury's not working! He's not working.

Mrs. F : Yes, but he's been doing great while you guys have done nothing. What say we get down to work, eh ?

(Maury looks across....laughs).

Dale : There. He's crowin' at us.

Daniel : Why did Kaplow resign the football team ?

Mrs. F : He's moving into other things that's all.

Dale : Or 'cos Deakins sussed him. (laughs).

(Maury walks across the room to join the group)

Dale : And all us guys knew it....

(References to that teacher's social life. Mrs. Freidel stands up).

Mrs. F : Hey, now. Listen up! Listen real good. We don't want to hear about anyone else in this class. We've got our papers to prepare so let's just do it.

Maury : But they can talk about us, man.....they talk all the time.

Dale : Yeah.....You can see 'em now. In Stacey's.....they examine each one of us. Real bad. We're not there to defend ourselves.

(Stacey's is a well known local bar, frequented by groups of teachers from CVHS).

Mrs. F : Okay, guys. Now I'm going to ask for silent working from here on in. No questions. Just work, OK ?

Dale : You said it. So you know, don't you.....Those guys pour horseshit on us an all.....There ain't no respect from where they're coming from....except a guy like Laurie, who just treats everyone equal.

(Daniel and Dale continue a private (inaudible) conversation. Mrs Freidel returns to seat herself by Maury).

Maury : Yeah. He's OK.

## **Conclusion.**

Sections ii., iii. and iv. of this Chapter have provided an outline of the fieldwork element of this study. Each, in its own right, is crucial to the research undertaking. The pilot study enabled a number of data-gathering instruments to be tested in the field. It was also used to determine a method whereby the target group of disruptive students in each case-study site could be identified.

The major part of the research data concerns the statements gathered from the 12 disruptive students in the two case-study schools. These statements present the disruptive student's 'reality', their view on four aspects of their school experience. A set of illustrative student statements have been included in the present Chapter, and the statements are provided in full in Appendix F. These have been supported by two individual student case-studies, as one way of illustrating the disruptive student in his classroom context. The remaining case-studies of individual students are contained in Appendix G. All of this data will be analysed in the following Chapter.

## NOTES : CHAPTER EIGHT.

- (1) This has been established in Chapter Five, section v.
- (2) Male students have been identified because, as Levine and Havighurst (1989) confirm, boys are more inclined to be delinquent or disruptive than girls. See Levine, D. and Havighurst, R, (1989) Society and Education, Boston; Allyn and Bacon. (p. 195).
- (3) As defined by the parameters of the 1981 Education Act in England.
- (4) Teacher perception of what constitutes a 'disruptive student' is a major contributing factor to future categorisation : see Chapter Six, section ii.
- (5) See Chapter Six, section ii.
- (6) See Chapter Six.
- (7) See Appendix A (i).
- (8) DES (1989) Discipline in Schools (The Elton Report). London; HMSO.
- (9) Ibid. p. 11.
- (10) This concern was articulated in DES (1985) Better Schools, London; HMSO, and in DES (1987) Education Observed 5 : Good behaviour and discipline in schools; London; HMSO.
- (11) This promoted an integrationist stance concerning students who were regarded to have special educational needs. For a review, see Hegarty, S., Pocklington, K. and Lucas, D. (1983) Educating Pupils with Special Needs in the Ordinary School, Windsor; NFER-Nelson.
- (12) DES (1981) Education Act, London; HMSO.
- (13) See Chapter Two, section ii.
- (14) NCEE (1983) A Nation At-Risk : The Imperative for Educational Reform Washington, D.C.; U.S. Government Printing Office.
- (15) Guthrie, J. & Pierce, L. (1990) 'The International Economy and national educational reform : a comparison of educational reforms in the United States and Great Britain', Oxford Review of education, 16
- (2), pp. 179-205, provides one commentary.
- (16) Chapter Two outlines the national context obtaining at that time.
- (17) Lincoln Administrative Code (1984) RCW 28A. 87. 060. Chapter 28.
- (18) Ibid.
- (19) Ibid.
- (20) NCEE (1985) Review of A Nation At-Risk, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office.
- (21) See Appendix B (v).
- (22) These, and subsequent remarks, concerning disruptive students made by Mr. Farmer are taken from (i) discussion with the Headteacher and (ii) a written statement by Mr. Farmer. See Appendix J.
- (23) These, and subsequent remarks, concerning disruptive students made by Mr. Deakins are taken from (i) discussion with the Principal and (ii) a written statement by Mr. Deakins. See Appendix J.
- (24) Mrs. Freidel, Head of In School Suspension Program (ISS) : personal communication to PG.
- (25) See Chapter Eight, section ii.
- (26) See Chapter Eight, section ii.
- (27) See Appendix J.

## CHAPTER NINE : ANALYSIS OF DATA.

### Introduction.

In the preceding Chapters reference has been made to the need to establish a flexible research methodology so that the range, or continuum, of the viewpoints of disruptive students could be investigated within the context of their total ecosystem. Utilisation of these techniques has resulted in a large amount of data, drawn from a variety of sources. In order to interpret the data generated by this approach it is therefore essential to provide a parallel set of analytical strategies (1). This, and the resulting framework of analysis, forms the substance of the present Chapter.

The Chapter comprises four sections. In the first, a theoretical model for the analysis is suggested and a format for data analysis is then presented. This offers a model which incorporates both the ecosystemic nature of student responses in England and the United States, discussed in Chapter Six, and an accompanying 'continuum' of disruptive students' statements concerning four aspects of their schooling: the curriculum and its delivery, personal and professional qualities of the teachers, the students' own interpretations of their disruptive behaviour, and the organisation and ethos of the school (2). The rationale for the selection of these has been provided in Chapter Eight, section ii. Tables and Figures relating to the analysis are provided on pages 227 to 247.

The following section provides an ecosystemic overview of the data from the case-study sites in England and the United States, using the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter Seven. In this, each of the four aspects of disruptive student experience in school, outlined above, are considered. This section of the analysis is referred to as Analysis I. The third section explores the 'continuum of responses', as represented by the statements of the disruptive students in the four areas of school experience selected for analysis (see above). This considers the extent to which the disruptive students in the study provide positive or negative explanations concerning what happens to them in school. This section of the analysis is termed Analysis II.

In the fourth section of the Chapter, both the ecosystemic model and the 'continuum' are synthesised to suggest a multi-dimensional framework, by which disruptive students in England and the United States interpret the realities of their experience in school. The section is divided into two parts. In the first, the views of the teachers of disruptive students are briefly considered. The purpose of this is to further illustrate the importance of

student-teacher interaction, as indicated by the disruptive students in their comments. In the second part of the section, the six case-studies will be reviewed, in order to provide an individual student-context which illustrates their ecosystemic experience, with its focus upon the microsystem and the mesosystem.

It has been noted that the interpretation of qualitative data requires techniques of analysis which are sympathetic to the style of data collection (3). Some aspects of this issue have been considered in Chapter Seven. At this stage, however, it is worthwhile reinforcing the point that the data analysis provided is not an exercise in simple quantification, although some use is made of this methodology where appropriate. The thrust of the analysis remains an interpretation of a set of statements by disruptive students from the two case-study locations. The data, and subsequent discussion, consequently attempts to provide some illustrations of disruptive students' views concerning their experiences in schools in two locations, in two different countries. The data, therefore, does not seek to establish a set of finite statistical measurements (4) but seeks to illustrate the concerns of a small group of disruptive students within a specific context.

The comments of disruptive students from both research sites, included in this Chapter, are underlined and indicated as either (RHS), from Ribbleside High School in England, or (CVHS), from Clearwater Valley High School in the United States.

## **i. An Ecology and Continuum of Responses :Theoretical Underpinnings and the Analytical Framework.**

Chapter Five (ii) gave a rationale for the use of an ecosystemic method in investigating the phenomenon of disruptive behaviour by school-students in England and the United States. The rationale maintained that explanations for such behaviours may be drawn from four distinct, yet interacting, parts of an ecosystem, namely the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem and the macrosystem.

A similar methodology can be used to assist in the analysis of disruptive student statements, taken from the semi-structured conversations. The method of analysis proposed that student statements can be grouped into four categories, corresponding to the sub-systems outlined by Bronfenbrenner (5). An important characteristic of this analysis is that the categorisations are based upon the statements made by the students. They refer to the individual 'reality' which the disruptive student experiences in each case-study site, and at a given time and in a specific setting within that site.

The analysis of statements can be represented diagrammatically as an adaptation of Bronfenbrenner's model (see Figure ii, page 72). The statements gathered from the conversations with 'disruptive' students are thus located in (a) micro-systemic terms, which have a focus on the immediate setting of the student : the 'self' in one specific setting (e.g. classroom). Other statements have been identified as (b) mesosystemic, which refer to student statements linking several microsystems (in this case, the school as a whole, including the procedures adopted by the school to deal with the problems posed by disruptive students). The exosystem (c) has a focus on events which are extraneous to the school, but which affect it in a variety of ways (this may include specific local policies for disruptive students and other Local Education Authority (LEA) or School Board initiatives). Finally, the students' macrosystemic statements (d) include general references, either direct or inferred, to cultural, social and legislative influences, operating at regional or national level. The criteria by which the student statements were allocated to each part of the ecosystem are represented diagrammatically in Figure iv, page 238.

The allocation of student statements to each of the four parts of the ecosystem has, therefore, been effected by adapting the model described above to a functional interpretation of students' comments. In this, a student's statement which refers to his interaction with one specific teacher or student in a particular classroom setting is termed a microsystemic statement. Where several individuals are referred to by the student in a number of school situations or where direct reference is made to specific school processes, the statement is regarded as mesosystemic in nature. Student comments which relate to external school issues which are structural (for example, the family group, the input from support agencies, the police) are categorised as exosystemic. Finally, more general statements by the students, which relate to unspecified social and cultural factors, are placed in the macrosystemic group. These categories conform to those theorised by Apter (6). Within each of the four categories of student statements concerning their experiences in school, some variation of analytical style is necessary. Justification for this has been provided in the opening section of this Chapter and is indicated as appropriate in the subsequent analysis.

The disruptive student statements are also sorted according to a 'continuum of response' concerning the various topics within the semi-structured conversations regarding aspects of their schooling (see Appendix F). The variety of student views, which comprise the continuum, range from negative statements concerning aspects of school life (exemplified, for example, by Sheppard (7) ) to positive statements (as demonstrated by Meighan (8) ).

The continuum is expressed not in terms of the degree of negative or positive feeling, but, rather, uses these terms as non-finite descriptions of a student's intentionality. The

analysis proposes a continuum based upon the ecosystem. In this the views of disruptive students are grouped according to their perceived position in the ecosystem. The micro-system (the individual disruptive student operating within a specific 1:1 context) will, therefore, be illustrated by a range of positive through to negative statements made by the student concerning aspects of his experience with one teacher in a given school-setting. Similarly, the mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem can be illustrated by student statements which suggest awareness of negative or positive interactions and experiences within those systems. This model is summarised in Figure v, page 239.

The analytical process also requires some recognition of the 'organismic' nature of the ecosystem (9). In this the interpretation acknowledges the essential fluidity of the model, so that one student's statement is not regarded as a finite expression. On the contrary, the student viewpoint, as expressed in conversation, is indicative of the time and place of recording and of the reaction of that disruptive student to particular circumstances at a given time. Arguments for this 'momentary' style of analysis have been provided by Ball (10).

Moreover, it should be acknowledged that such an analytical approach may often mean that student statements can often comprise overlapping and interdependent sub-systems. A statement which has a microsystemic emphasis is frequently underpinned by aspects of the other systems. In simple terms the model is dynamic. This feature of the analytical model is illustrated by the final section of the Chapter, where the multi-dimensional framework of disruptive student reality is finally presented. This is exemplified by both the comments of the teachers at the two schools and the individual student case-studies.

## **ii. ANALYSIS I : THE ECOLOGY OF RESPONSES (RIBBLESIDE HIGH SCHOOL & CLEARWATER VALLEY HIGH SCHOOL.**

This section of the Chapter provides an analysis of four aspects of disruptive student experience in the two case-study schools in England and United States. The four areas of student experience, the origination of which are discussed in Chapter Eight, are : the curriculum, personal and professional qualities of teachers, interpretations of disruptive behaviour and the organisation and ethos of the school. The analysis shows both the ecosystemic nature of the responses provided by the disruptive students in the two schools, together with a number of variations, which will be discussed in the subsequent Chapter.

## **(a) DISRUPTIVE STUDENTS' STATEMENTS ABOUT THE CURRICULUM AND ITS DELIVERY.**

A summary of the student statements about the curriculum and the way they perceive it to be taught is contained in Table B, page 228. The full set of disruptive student statements are contained in Appendix F.

Table B suggests that the focus for student 'reality' in the research sites in both England and the United States tends to be placed on the microsystem and mesosystem, with both suggesting an emphasis upon the more general mesosystemic influences. In other words, statements by disruptive students' concerning their school experiences in this area are drawn mainly from (a) individual, 1:1 interactions with teachers in specific subjects (the microsystem) and, more emphatically, from (b) general recall of curriculum issues which they have identified in the context of the whole school (the mesosystem). Less emphasis appears to be placed upon exosystemic factors, whilst the importance of macrosystemic concerns to the disruptive students in the two schools appears to be minimal.

### **THE MICROSYSTEM.**

Disruptive students in the two case-study sites, in England and the United States, indicate in their statements that the influence of both 1:1 interactions with their teachers and subject specificity is frequently acknowledged. These will now be considered under three headings :

Disruptive Students' Statements concerning specific lessons.

Disruptive Students' Statements concerning specific subject-teachers.

Disruptive students' Statements concerning teaching/learning style.

The three headings have been selected by adapting Epstein & McPartland's approach, which argued that three factors contributed to the quality of a student's academic life in school : satisfaction with lessons, reactions to teachers and commitment to classwork (11). These are summarised in Table B (i), page 229, and are discussed below.

#### **Specific Lessons.**

The statements collected from individual disruptive students at Ribbleside High School (RHS) in England, and Clearwater Valley High School (CVHS) in the United States suggest that there is some evidence that individual subjects per se are seen by the students as being influential in contributing to a student's individual reality when considering the full



ecosystem (the semi-structured conversation framework included a specific prompt concerning a student's least-liked and most popular subject : see Appendix E)

The disruptive students from the English school tend to make approximately the same number of references to particular subjects as do their North American counterparts (see Table B (i)), page 229.

When commenting upon specific subjects the disruptive students in both schools tend to provide a personal rationale for their choice. This may indicate that a personal school experience, or set of experiences, is more important in influencing student opinion than more general factors relating to their like or dislike of a particular subject. Consequently the remarks 'I enjoy PE because it's good and active' (RHS) or 'I like Math. So I don't skip it much' (CVHS) may imply within-student criteria, based upon personal responses, rather than choices informed by peer-group interaction or by the influence of a subject's status within the whole curriculum.

This personalised method of assessing what it is that the student likes or dislikes is often unsupported by any other specific evidence (relating to, for example, aspects of lesson content). On the other hand, the disruptive students in the study, in both schools, were inclined to express instinctive, personalised feeling about their school subjects. Examples of this are the statements 'I never go to Science. It's fucking useless' (RHS) and, in relation to a Mathematics class, 'Why have we got to do all this junk anyway ?' (CVHS).

From the available evidence contained in the statements from the two groups of students it may be suggested that the disruptive students tend to follow a two-stage process when indicating their views. This appears to comprise (i) a specific rationale for subject choice, based upon personal likes and dislikes and (ii) an instinctive, unguarded comment. It may be the latter which could form the basis for a view, expressed by several teachers in the study (12), that the opinions of disruptive students should be discounted when aspects of school policy are under discussion. This issue is discussed at length in section iii. of the subsequent Chapter because of its importance to the debate concerning disruptive student advocacy.

### **Specific Subject Teachers.**

Disruptive students' statements concerning their curricular relationships with specific teachers at RHS and CVHS form a relatively small proportion of the total ecosystemic response, but appear to be more significant in the microsystem. The students from both

case-study sites tend to refer directly to specific teachers when curriculum matters were being discussed with approximately the same degree of frequency. This is summarised in Table B (i), page 229.

In both case-study sites the disruptive students provide some evidence that their responses to individual teachers is often an important factor in liking or disliking a given subject. In this instance, the comment that 'Mr. Penny does work hard and sometimes I do' (RHS) can be compared with 'Mr. Laurie says I'll make good grades in my tests. He says I will even if it kills him. He's a good guy' (CVHS). Both comments are indicative of the influence which teacher style and personality can have on the views of the students. This is explored more fully in the next sub-section.

More frequently, however, disruptive students in the study indicate negative responses about their personal interactions with their teachers. The suggestion appears to be that it is the personality and professional demeanour of the teacher which appear to be a more influential factor than lesson content in determining whether a subject is liked or disliked. There are parallels between the English and American students in this respect. Thus the student comment that 'Straight away she comes in and says something so it sets me off and I think 'Fuck this', and don't bother no more' (RHS) typifies a strong negative reaction, echoed by the remark that 'When I do an assignment I think 'Yeah, that's great'....until I get the paper back and I score a 'C' and you can tell he's not cared about it....just put the 'C' and that's it. Man, that pisses me off' (CVHS).

The disruptive students in this study indicated in their statements a wide range of preferred qualities in their teachers, which are amplified at other points in this analysis. From the statements obtained, five teacher-attributes appear to be regarded as most desirable. Thus, the disruptive students in the sample talk of the teacher as (a) a source of help (b) a charismatic personality (c) a patient person (d) as a motivator and (e) as a disciplinarian. Each of these teacher characteristics is exemplified by student-statements in Figure (iii). What is interesting is that the preferred teacher attributes outlined by the disruptive students are similar with the views of these students, in both countries, who are not a source of disruption in schools (13)

## **Teaching & Learning Styles.**

Table B (i), page 229, indicates that disruptive students at both RHS and CVHS tend to comment less frequently on matters relating to specific teaching and learning styles in their school subjects. Both the sets of students appear to acknowledge this aspect of classroom interaction less often than their preferences for individual subjects or subject-teachers.

The suggestion from the comments gathered from the disruptive students concerning teaching and learning styles is that such comments are often inclined to be negative and to relate to the personal characteristics of the teacher rather than the subject matter taught. This appears to lend support for a view that such students are more inclined to assess a teacher by personality characteristics, rather than according to the type of learning activity provided by them. This issue is considered in greater detail in part (b) of the current Chapter, where student statements concerning the personal and professional characteristics of their teachers are reviewed.

Nevertheless, some individual student comment does provide evidence of a preferred learning style, in which the students are quite specific about the way in which a lesson is presented to them. The disruptive students in the English school suggest that 'We do worksheets and worksheets....' (RHS) and that 'I took Design & Technology because I wanted to be a mechanic but it's a lot of writing and there's no equipment' (RHS). In the United States, the disruptive students offer similar insightful information about the teaching and learning process : 'I'm quite afraid to ask questions (of her) and she never takes the time to see that I'm struggling' (CVHS) and 'They expect me to do this stuff (worksheet) and then wonder why I get bored' (CVHS) are examples of the type of student comment which suggests, albeit in negative terms, their more preferred learning style.

From these statements, and other examples in Appendix F, it is apparent that there are some links between the style and content of a particular subject and the demeanour and personality of the member of staff who teaches it. This may, therefore, be a crucial factor in accounting for a student's liking or disliking of a particular subject. It does, however, sit somewhat awkwardly alongside the view, presented by many of the disruptive students from both schools, that they prefer a teacher who is 'strict'. It also points to important issues for professional development, which will be reviewed later in this thesis (see Chapter Ten, section iii).

## THE MESOSYSTEM.

Disruptive student statements which relate to mesosystemic (i.e. whole school) influences concerning curricular issues occur more frequently than statements relating to any of the other sub-systems. Table B (ii), page 230, provides a summary of these comments.

Disruptive students at both RHS and CVHS suggest that general issues of (i) school organisation of curriculum (ii) teaching & learning style (iii) curriculum interactions with peers and (iv) overall expectations in relation to academic work may all play a part in the formulation of individual student realities (14). Of these considerations, the students comment most frequently upon the teaching and learning style in general classroom situations and with unspecified teachers. Each of the issues raised are now considered.

### School Organisation of the Curriculum.

Disruptive students at RHS and CVHS comment on general aspects of school organisation with roughly equal frequency. In both case-study sites the suggestion is that impressionistic responses, unsupported by specific examples, are often given. For example, the English students in the study refer on several occasions to their impression that 'You're just left to get on with the stuff yourself and we get the worst teachers' (RHS) or that 'The stuff we get is shit, but other classes do alright' (RHS). Similarly, disruptive students at CVHS sometimes suggest that 'If more homework was given, more learning would take place' (CVHS) and that 'Teachers here are told to single some guys out for special help.....but a bunch of....us guys don't get it' (CVHS). The students made less frequent use of supporting evidence which used specific lesson situations or named teachers.

At other times, however, students did comment on specific school procedures which they find at least irritating and frequently alienating. They commented on positive learning experiences with less frequency. In describing these unsatisfactory academic experiences one of the English disruptive students remarked that 'Most of the time we're the ones who get teachers who are not supposed to be with us anyway' (RHS) whilst another observed that 'We get told to go along to Mr. Chapman, and then he looks at us (as if) to say "I don't want to teach you because I haven't got time".....so you go back' (RHS). Both comments are indicative of the marginalised position which the disruptive students feel they experience within the structural organisation of the school's curriculum.

The disruptive students from CVHS are similarly critical in their comments concerning the way in which their curriculum is organised. This is illustrated by such comments as 'Stuff we're told to learn doesn't have no meaning to us. But we keep being taught by the same teachers who tell us to do the same useless things' (CVHS). Such comments suggest that the students recognise that curricular relevance to their plans for the future is an important consideration : some micro-macro links may therefore be apparent in this case.

Student comments from both England and the United States in this category provide a number of specific views about the net result of decisions which are taken on a mesosystemic level. These views are frequently negative interpretations of curricular experience, the quality of which is damaged by an amalgam of less-experienced or unsatisfactory teachers (15), poor resourcing (16) and high teacher turnover (17).

### **Teaching & Learning Style.**

This category of mesosystemic response is characterised by disruptive student comment which indicates either a preferred style of teaching and/or learning, or one which the students consider to be inappropriate to their needs (see Figure vi, page 240). Within such comments is the inference that an alternative teaching and/or learning style may be preferred. A typical comment in this vein is that 'None of us take no notice and we can learn off each other' (RHS), or that 'Our teachers teach the material too fucking fast' (CVHS). With comments of this nature, some overlap may be noted with the disruptive students' comments regarding the personal and professional characteristics of teachers (see Section (b) of the present Chapter)

Comments concerning teaching and learning style provide the most frequent area of mesosystemic response by the students at both RHS and CVHS. In this group, students often refer to specific styles of teaching and learning, without indicating a subject or teacher specificity. Nor do the students tend to refer to themselves or specified others in their comments.

There is an overall stress placed by the disruptive students upon a need for positive interaction with their teachers. In this respect both groups of students do not appear to differ markedly from school-students who have not been classified as 'disruptive' (18). Thus the students in the study refer to their willingness to 'work hard' if they are able to acknowledge the same quality in their teacher : 'Some of them (teachers) work hard and so sometimes I do' (RHS)) and 'The good ones are the ones who listen to us and try their best to help us' (CVHS).

### **Curriculum Interactions with Peers.**

Similarities again exist between the two sites in this category of mesosystemic comment, although in curricular terms this group of student statements appears to be of less significance (see Table B ii, page 230). The disruptive students in the study are more inclined to make general references to teachers than to peers when aspects of their academic learning is being discussed. They are also more inclined to include comments which refer to other students (either disruptive or non-disruptive) when referring to disruptive behaviours (this is discussed further in (c) Disruptive Students' Statements Concerning Their Own Behaviours ).

What is worth noting, however, is that little evidence has been forthcoming from the students' statements that disruptive students focussed their dislike of school subjects and the 'learning' which took place within these upon individual teachers. On the contrary, there appeared few indications that confrontation was an established strategy on matters relating to the academic curriculum. The same could not be said, however, of social behaviours (see part (c) of the present Chapter).

### **Expectations for the Future.**

Of the two research sites, the disruptive student responses suggest that the students at CVHS appear to show more awareness concerning the relationship between their participation in the academic curriculum and what it may lead to when they leave the school. The students from RHS appeared less able (or willing) to talk about their career aspirations and the ways in which progress in school may help/hinder this.

At RHS, the disruptive students tended to refer only in fairly oblique terms to what might be the outcome for them as a result of their academic experiences in school. As a result they were inclined to make comments like : 'What's it going to be good for, all this sitting in rooms' (RHS) or, rather more specifically, 'None of us is interested in this shit, and we just want to go to College' (RHS). Many of the comments appear to reflect negative curricular experiences. But, in spite of rejecting such formal learning experiences presented by their secondary school, the students retain a degree of faith in what 'the system' provides for them in the future, and this is illustrated in some of their comments (19).

CVHS students, on the other hand, appear to place substantially more emphasis upon the likely positive outcomes of formal, compulsory education. The comments of the students'

from the United States provide less evidence that school alienation is being verbalised to such a degree as in the English example. Thus the students have remarked that 'All we want to do is to leave, get a job, and be able to show them' (CVHS) and, in a deprecating tone 'We'll all get jobs....and earn more than them anyway' (CVHS).

Comparing the two groups of student responses as a whole, the general indication is that the disruptive students at CVHS are somewhat more optimistic concerning vocational/career outcomes than are their English counterparts. This may, in turn, relate to the status of education as a means to an end in the United States, across a much broader spectrum of the population (20). Prospects for employment, traditionally more enhanced in the United States than in England (21), may also be a contributory factor to the more optimistic views of the disruptive students in the United States.

## **THE EXOSYSTEM.**

Table B, page 228, indicates that the disruptive students in the two case-study sites tend to acknowledge exosystemic influences on their school (academic) work, but that this category of responses does not appear to be as significant as micro- and mesosystemic statements. Student comment is restricted primarily to general remarks, often in the form of questions like 'What's it all about, all this learning ?' (RHS). There are very few references, from either group of students, to the possible influences on their schoolwork which may have originated as State, School Board or Local Education Authority initiatives, or from national programmes to improve the quality of student-learning.

Nevertheless, both sets of disruptive students offer some evidence in their comments that they are least nominally aware of some of the structural issues which result in the (usually) unsatisfactory academic experiences of disruptive students. Both groups of students, therefore, refer to factors over which the school structure does have some control. These include timetabling strategies : 'The lessons are too long' (RHS); adequate (suitable) teacher supply : 'We get too many substitute teachers who give us word searches' (RHS); and teachers' rates of pay : 'Some teachers just don't work for us.....but I know they get shit wages so why should they' (CVHS). In each case there is a tacit acknowledgement by the students that a range of external factors can influence their curricular progress within the schools.

## THE MACROSYSTEM.

Student statements concerning the curriculum in this category was infrequent (see Table B, page 228). Both groups of disruptive students made little reference to social or cultural factors which might have an effect on their school experiences. What statements that were made within this category of response were made without explicit reference to the wider political, economic or social experiences. Student horizons did not seem to extend beyond 'There's just one thing I want to do and that's finish with all this learning and get out and earn some cash' (CVHS). It should, nevertheless, be acknowledged that the shortage of comments in this area might be on account of a conceptual separation by the students of a reality which is based upon their school experiences, as opposed to the influence of extra-school experiences.

### **(b) DISRUPTIVE STUDENT'S STATEMENTS CONCERNING PERSONAL & PROFESSIONAL QUALITIES OF TEACHERS.**

An ecosystemic summary of the disruptive student statements' concerning their views about the personal and professional qualities of their teachers is contained in Table C, page 231. This suggests some differences between the students at RHS and CVHS, particularly in respect of microsystemic and exosystemic considerations. Mesosystemic factors, on the other hand, are more comparable in possible influence in the two research sites. The teacher-characteristics (both professional and personal), in all four aspects of the ecosystem, have been categorised by adapting the framework proposed by Woods (22). These will now be examined in more detail.

## THE MICROSYSTEM.

The major difference between the disruptive students' statements relating to the personal and professional qualities of their teachers at RHS and CVHS appears to occur within this group. Students at CVHS frequently emphasise the qualities of specific, named teachers and illustrate their responses by direct reference to individual members of staff at CVHS. In this it would appear that the American students tend to recall teacher qualities based upon their experiences in 1:1 interactions with certain members of staff.

The North American students, therefore, have included within many of their statements particular references to individual teachers. Examples of this type of student comment are : 'Mr. Dolwin is a neat teacher. He wears neat clothes and he's interesting' (CVHS); Mrs. Zeitlin hates me. She thinks I'm nothing' (CVHS); 'Mr. Mortensen cuts up rough sometimes. He can't take a joke' (CVHS) and 'Mr. Tubbe's cute. He looks after us when things aren't going too good' (CVHS).



In contrast to this specificity, the students from the English case-study school appear to place emphasis upon what they theorise as the 'ideal' teacher without making frequent references to named teachers. Whilst their views may be influenced by particular experiences with specific teachers, their comments tend not to make named reference to those teachers. Examples of this more general assessment of teacher characteristics by the English disruptive students include 'They always talk about when they were young and say that they behaved themselves' (RHS) and 'Some of them call you names and when you do the same they send you out' (RHS).

Nevertheless the disruptive students from both research sites show some similarity concerning the characteristics that they prefer in their teachers. These teacher qualities are summarised in Table C (i), page 232. This analysis indicates an emphasis upon four characteristics which the disruptive students seem to regard as important considerations in assessing their teachers : technique, disposition, control and fairness (23). Of these, technique and disposition are major categories, whilst control and fairness are their respective sub-categories. Examples of student comment within each category are illustrated in Figure vi.

The disruptive students from both case-study sites provide evidence that teacher technique and teacher control are the two issues which influence them most in determining preferred teacher characteristics. Their statements provide, in each case, a set of characteristics which might comprise their 'ideal type' of teacher. What again appears to be apparent is that the disruptive students in both schools identify a set of teacher characteristics which largely conform to the views expressed by students who are not classified as disruptive (24). This, in turn, may have important implications for some aspects of policy-formulation (see Chapter Ten, section iii).

## **THE MESOSYSTEM.**

Disruptive students from both the English and the North American school frequently provide statements of a more general nature concerning their views on what characteristics constitute a 'good' teacher. Illustrative statements in this respect are that 'Teachers should plan our work better so that we know what's happening' (RHS) and that 'Us guys need teachers who'll listen, not just shout for no reason' (CVHS). As has been noted in the previous section, the students at RHS tend to generalise rather more frequently than their counterparts at CVHS. Moreover, the comments categorised as mesosystemic from the two

groups of disruptive students again support the view that such students hold similar beliefs to other mainstream students regarding the preferred qualities of a teacher.

### **THE EXOSYSTEM.**

Disruptive student statements in this category refer to the school processes which impact upon them and also their views concerning the collective actions of teachers.

Table C, page 231 suggests that the exosystemic influence appears to be more apparent in statements from RHS students than from CVHS students. This would suggest support for the more 'generalistic' views on teacher characteristics held by the former group. In only very few cases do the students refer directly to an individual with whom they have had contact : more frequently references are made to 'they' (the teachers) in a non-committal sense.

Within this group of statements, some acknowledgement is also made of external factors which influence the way in which the schools as a whole are constrained by factors which are extraneous to them. Thus, one English student commented that 'My school hasn't got enough teachers so everyone is too busy' (RHS), whilst an American student made direct comparison between his school and a vocational college in the locality, stating that 'I can't wait to leave. I'm going to go to college...there's fewer people making rules there' (CVHS). The former statement implies an acknowledgement of the constraints placed upon educational systems as a whole and relates these (in this case, inadequate teacher supply) to the unsatisfactory nature of their educational experience. The latter remark suggests some understanding on the part of the student that 'rules' are a structural aspect of life in school.

### **THE MACROSYSTEM.**

This appeared to be the least important category of disruptive student statement in relation to the personal and professional attributes of the teachers. This was the case in both case-study sites. Few statements were, therefore, made by the disruptive students from each school concerning more general cultural and social influences on the personal and professional characteristics of the teachers. Occasionally, however, reference was made to external factors affecting their interactions with their teachers : 'When they were on strike, the pupils made that a reason not to go to their lessons' (RHS) and 'Teachers should pass tests each year to teach us' (CVHS). Whilst such statements appear to make only an oblique reference to the fact that issues outside the immediate environment of the school can

influence events within it, they do nevertheless provide an indication of some awareness of wider societal or macrosystemic influences on the part of the students.

### **(c) DISRUPTIVE STUDENTS' STATEMENTS CONCERNING DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR.**

Table D, page 233, summarises disruptive student observations regarding the behaviours that they engage in.

In making an analysis of student statement in this category, a 'locus of control' approach has been adopted, and this has been subsumed within the ecosystemic model (25). This two-level approach to the analysis can be summarised in the following way.

The first level of analysis concerns the ecosystem as a whole. Here the microsystem relates to student reference to an individual incident involving that student or another student or teacher. The mesosystem is characterised by an incident which involves more than one disruptive (or other) student, whilst at the same time emphasising the influence of the whole school and aspects of its organisation, including the responses and actions of groups of teachers.

The exosystemic views of the disruptive students are those where they refer to their deviant or antisocial activities outside of the school as part of their explanation for their behaviour within it. Such statements are usually couched in general terms, with little reference to specific, named individuals. Finally, the macrosystemic viewpoint is suggested by the general references made by the students to social and cultural conditions and events, which they see as influential in prompting general behavioural attitudes which may result in their disruptive acts.

The second level of analysis focusses more specifically upon the locus of control model, which extracts from the total ecosystem those student views which indicate explanations by them which are personal or 'within student'. Such a rationale is best summarised by the generalism that 'it was my fault' or that it was 'the fault' of a specific individual. Comments by students, which are categorised as either microsystemic or mesosystemic, are included in this level of analysis.

Within this analysis it is important to recall the comments in Section i of the present Chapter. Reference was made there to the flexible nature of the analytical model. Following this guideline, it is possible to suggest some fluidity of causality from student statements. For example, a mesosystemic act, which is considered disruptive, can also be explained by

the student in micro-, exo- or macro-terms. This feature will be discussed at a later stage of this section.

### **Level One Analysis of Disruptive Behaviour : The Ecosystem.**

By reference to Table D, page 233, some similarities can be indicated between the two sets of disruptive students' statements. Students at both case-study sites provide evidence that macrosystemic and exosystemic factors are regarded by the students being less influential compared to micro- or meso- factors. Mesosystemic explanations, where a student suggests an emphasis upon factors relating to the school as a whole, are the most frequent category of response in the English case-study and second in the case of the school in the United States.

The importance of institutional factors on the behaviour of the students in both schools is particularly relevant to current theorising on 'school effect' in both England and the United States (26). This has been referred to at various points of this thesis (27). At the same time, the microsystemic influences, relating to the interactions between a disruptive student and a given teacher offer some evidence in support of the continued existence of labelling theory in connection with such students (28). Each of these issues will now be considered.

Student statements concerning the overall effects of the school can be sub-divided into two groups. The first of these are those views which relate to the structural features of school organisation and their impact upon the students. Here there appears to be some similarity in the experiences of the two groups of disruptive students. It has already been noted (29) that curricular arrangements can prompt expressions of dissatisfaction by the disruptive students in RHS and CVHS. Furthermore, the Code of Conduct at RHS and the Student Responsibility Code at CVHS are frequent targets of resentment, illustrated by comments such as 'Each teacher thinks that they follow the rules but they don't because they make their own rules up' (RHS) and 'They should make it so that the rules are easier to follow and simpler' (CVHS).

Students at both schools also indicate that they are conscious of the framework of rules provided by such behaviour codes but that they are inclined to develop strategies to informally re-negotiate them (30). 'Rules don't worry me, 'cos you just do what you like so long as they don't catch you. It's easy to dodge them' (RHS) and 'It's like a game. Some of us guys can cut classes and not get found out. Others can't because they're stupid' (CVHS) are two illustrative student comments which summarise this negotiation strategy.

At its most basic level, therefore, there is an understanding on the part of the student that 'You don't get in trouble because you keep your head down'(RHS).

A second group of statements concerning school-effect refers to the impact of the teachers as a professional group upon their schools, and the way in which this is perceived by the students in relation to their own disruptive behaviour. Here the students suggest that their views are the result of generalisation ('They think they rule the place. They're so superior. Always right' (RHS) and 'Sometimes I feel real angry because I know that they don't care....they don't take notice of me' (CVHS) are two examples) from specific confrontations with named teachers ('One time I got sent there (on-site unit) for swearing a few times at Mrs. Coomber'(RHS) or 'I take no shit from Arrams. One time she accused me of cheating in a term paper and I got real mad, called her a bitch. She just made me madder and madder' (CVHS) are examples).

The process of generalisation from specific student experiences is well-recorded in the literature in both England and the United States (31) and within, the model presented in this study, it offers further support for the belief that (disruptive) students are influenced in the construction of their personal reality by the total ecosystemic experience, with a substantive focus upon their micro- and mesosystemic encounters.

But Table D, page 233, also shows that there are some important differences between the two schools in two areas. Firstly, explanations concerning disruptive behaviour which refer to social and cultural conditions appear to be more significant amongst the students at RHS. In this instance one disruptive student has suggested that 'It's only fighting that's bad....all the rest just happens in schools and you should expect it' (RHS). Another statement which confirms an acknowledgement of factors outside of the school as being influential is the view that 'Teachers tell us what to do because a load of other people tell them what to do. There's always someone bigger making more and more rules' (RHS).

Secondly, microsystemic statements are used more frequently by the disruptive students from CVHS in describing or explaining their behaviours. This is consistent with the analysis of statements from the students at CVHS in Section (b) of this chapter. One possible explanation for this may be that the disruptive student's interaction with his teacher in the North American school reflects the importance which has traditionally been placed on education, as a means of acquiring wealth and status in the United States (32).

Notwithstanding these differences, the analysis of disruptive student statements from both RHS and CVHS shows an overall emphasis upon microsystemic and mesosystemic factors

(see Table D, page 233). These elements of the ecosystem will now be examined more fully.

### **Level Two Analysis of Disruptive Behaviour : Microsystem & Mesosystem.**

Four factors were identified from the research literature as indicative of the types of explanation which disruptive students generally provide to account for their disruptive behaviours. These are 'my fault', 'teacher's fault', 'fault of the school system' and 'other peoples fault'. A quantitative summary of these is provided in Table D (i), page 234. This is supported by Figure vii, page 241 which contains illustrative statements made by the students relating to disruptive behaviour.

Although previous reservations concerning quantitative analysis of this data should again be noted (33), the general scenario, demonstrated by this means, is that each of the four factors which have been taken to manifest the students' microsystemic and mesosystemic statements are of approximately equal importance in the case-study sites in England and the United States.

From the statements obtained from the students it may be suggested that the disruptive students in this study provide explanations for their behaviours which are indicative of explanations from various levels within the two sub-systems. The first two are microsystemic in origin, whilst the remainder are mesosystemic.

Firstly, the students in both RHS and CVHS show an acceptance that responsibility for their behaviour is partly their own. 'I sometimes can't accept the rules and I get angry. But afterwards I think I've been foolish to get involved' (RHS) is one student's explanation. A student at CVHS offered the frank self-analysis that 'Nothing excuses you from sounding off at them. I can be real mean sometimes and I deserve what comes back to me' (CVHS). The willingness to acknowledge 'blame' by both sets of students provides an alternative to the view that such students refuse to accept responsibility for their own disruptive behaviour (34).

Secondly, the statements provide a further indication of the importance of effective student-teacher interaction, with an emphasis upon particular professional and personal characteristics of teachers : these have been examined in detail in Part (b) of this section of the Chapter. The teacher qualities identified there may be further amplified by numerous statements relating to specific behaviours by the disruptive students with certain teachers. One RHS student, for example, indicates that 'Smillie doesn't give a shit because he

behaves as if I'm not there most of the time. Then he starts shouting at me for talking to one of the others' (RHS), whilst at CVHS the remark that 'Dolwin's a creep.... He is always putting me down. But he couldn't cope with it when I told him what I think of him in class.....he goes straight to Estenson' (CVHS). In both statements there is both an explicit criticism of the teacher and an implication that the teacher is, in part, responsible for the problems that ensued.

A third area of disruptive-student statement concerning their behaviour relates to the organisation of the school. The students suggest some ambivalence towards the formal rules within each school. On the one hand, there is an acceptance of the need for rules, exemplified by such comments as 'If you do something that's against the rules you expect to be in trouble' (RHS) and 'It's not worth fighting the rules. They're there and you can't change them. You just try to keep them' (CVHS). On the other hand, the students provide frequent statements which are oppositional to the guidelines for student behaviour laid down by each school. The student comment that 'I don't respect them at all because of the stupid rules which mean nothing' (RHS) and 'There's no point in a lot of the rules. They're just there to bug you' (CVHS) are two specific examples. There is, therefore, a considerable variation in the responses of the students to the sets of school rules. This is apparent in both case-study sites.

Finally, the statements from the students in RHS and CVHS also indicate that their behaviour is sometimes the result of disagreements with their peers. In this instance the students indicate that they respond to such situations as much by private resolution ('Maury's a jerk. He asks for it a lot of the time. I thumped him for ripping off my cola....that's all' (CVHS) as by using official procedures to arrive at a resolution ('I think that anyone who messes about in class should be kicked out. Thornton should've been expelled years ago' (RHS) and 'They should be more strict when we bring weapons into school. That's against the code' (CVHS) are statements which illustrate this strategy).

#### **(d) DISRUPTIVE STUDENTS' STATEMENTS CONCERNING SCHOOL ORGANISATION & ETHOS.**

An ecosystemic summary of disruptive students' statements concerning school organisation and ethos is contained in Table E, page 235. In both case-study sites the disruptive students emphasise the importance of their microsystemic contact with key personnel (either formal or informal) and of the mesosystemic, or whole-school, procedures which such teachers adopt in their encounters with the students. Much less emphasis is placed upon exosystemic or macrosystemic factors.

The microsystem, in relation to school organisation and ethos, has been conceptualised as follows. In the first instance, microsystemic factors are those which involve interaction between the disruptive student and key figures within the school organisation who, according to the students, appear to have a significant effect on school life and the students' involvement within it.

The mesosystem, on the other hand, is theorised as the strategies which the school implements in order to facilitate learning or social interaction in the school. These are enshrined in the formal school procedures of RHS and CVHS (35). The exosystem refers to the supporting infrastructure operating outside of the school (at LEA or School Board level) which facilitate and legitimate the mesosystemic strategies of the school. Finally, macrosystemic factors are an acknowledgement of a general set of 'values' which underpin these actions. Illustrative statements from the disruptive students of both schools are provided in Figure viii. The theoretical basis for this part of the analysis is based on an adaptation of Dalin's summary of the school as an institution (36). This is outlined in Figure (ix), page 243.

In the adapted model, what Dalin refers to as 'human relations' is re-interpreted as the microsystem. This refers to the interactions which take place between the disruptive student and teachers within the context of the organisational framework of the school. Here the students at both schools provide evidence in their comments that microsystemic encounters are significant in influencing their views on how the school operates. Dalin's 'strategies' are similarly equated with the mesosystem. This includes the various school procedures which underpin the strategies adopted by the teachers in terms of both the academic and the social curriculum. In the same revised model, the exosystem equates to Dalin's 'structures', which are organisational influences outside the school. Finally, the macrosystem is represented by the 'values' within Dalin's model.

In the case-study sites, in both England and the United States, the disruptive students appear to place an emphasis on the effects of key personnel which the students themselves identify and, in particular, on the strategies adopted by these individuals on their school-lives. This is equally true of educational and social encounters (see Table E, page 235).

In both cases, however, the students frequently imply by their statements that it is the STRATEGY rather than the INDIVIDUAL that is of greater importance to them. Even when individual teachers are referred to by name, therefore, a tendency remains for the students to include frequent references to school procedures. Examples of this are the statement that 'Farmer goes on about being adult but his rules are kids rules' (RHS) or that



'There's nobody stricter than Mr Dolwin when it comes to applying the Discipline Code : he won't give on anything' (CVHS).

Moreover, the mediating role of the teacher, previously referred to, is acknowledged by the students. The positive characteristics of certain teachers are frequently recognised by the students : this may be an important factor in helping to offset their opposition to the formal disciplinary strategies of the school. For instance, one English student suggested that 'Eden's alright really. She tries to help you when you're in trouble and explains what's happening to get you into trouble' (RHS), whilst a corresponding North American interpretation is that 'Sometimes it's good because you get to know what teachers really think.....like Mr Templeman.....I know he doesn't like some of the rules....thinks they're unfair to us' (CVHS).

These observations would, therefore, appear to correspond to the interpretation given in other areas of student reality (particularly curriculum and interpretations of disruptive behaviour). There is an acknowledgement by both sets of disruptive students that it is the nature and quality of the interaction between the student and his teachers which is most influential in formulating their opinion concerning school ethos and organisation. Much less emphasis is placed by the students on exosystemic or macrosystemic factors.

### **iii. ANALYSIS II : A CONTINUUM OF RESPONSES.**

The second method of analysis of disruptive student statements is the use of a continuum of response for each of the four aspects of the students' experiences in school : the curriculum and its delivery, the personal and professional characteristics of teachers, the students own views concerning their disruptive behaviour and the organisation and ethos of the school. This approach is theorised below.

The responses of the two sets of disruptive students have been grouped along a POSITIVE-NEGATIVE continuum. The rationale for this approach has been described in section i of the current Chapter, and is illustrated in Figure (x), page 244. The importance of this approach is its ability to suggest that disruptive students, in both countries, do not always seek causal explanations of what happens to them in school based upon negative interpretations of their experiences within the ecosystem. They are, it is suggested, more inclined to express a range of positive and negative viewpoints. In this respect, therefore, some opportunities for institutional change in the management of such students may be possible. These will be considered in Chapter Ten, section iii.

The analysis attempted in this section suggests that the disruptive students from both case-study sites often present a positive response to the four aspects of their schooling under consideration. In consequence, the view that such students are wholly disaffected with school, are unwilling to engage in formal academic and social activities organised by the schools, and hold cultural views which vary significantly from those represented by the normative school culture, is one which does not appear to be supported by the findings of the present study.

In the first instance, however, there is one aspect of this of this method of analysis which needs some rationalisation. The 'continuum of response' methodology suggests that the range of disruptive student responses in each of the four areas of their school experience, from positive to negative, can be interpreted by the disruptive student in microsystemic, mesosystemic, exosystemic and macrosystemic terms. This is best illustrated by one example. If a disruptive student indicates that 'I think I'm good in my work sometimes but not always' (RHS) then this statement can be interpreted as a positive personal (microsystemic) comment within the continuum of responses. But the same disruptive student may also indicate that 'They say I won't get a job if I don't graduate. I suppose I believe them. But it's hard to get down to work' (RHS). This is also a positive personal comment, but it is equally 'exosystemic' in that it refers to factors outside the school : obtaining work and reference to 'they', implying an awareness of wider issues operating outside the context of the school.

This apparent contradiction between the two methods of interpreting the data can be resolved in terms of a HORIZONTAL (personal reality) versus VERTICAL (structural reality) model (see Figure (xi), page 245.

In this model, the personal reality refers to a direct expression of self via feelings and thoughts that relate to the individual (i.e. microsystemic). The structural reality refers to the same personalised self, but acknowledges a broader set of cultural and societal considerations (ie. it is macrosystemic).

This argument relates, in turn, to the suggestion that any analytical model which is based upon an individual reality needs to maintain the 'organismic' nature of that reality as expressed in the ecosystem. Such fluidity is at the heart of that method of interpreting human behaviour outlined by Bronfenbrenner, and which forms the basis of this study (37). Both RHS and CVHS disruptive students emphasise negative student-teacher relationships (microsystemic) and negative institutional processes (mesosystemic) in their accounts of each of the four aspects of their school life being considered. This is illustrated

in Table F, page 236. It is also apparent from Table F that the students have provided a significant minority of positive statements in both areas, indicating that they are not consistently oppositional to school.

At the same time, Table F also demonstrates some similarity between the disruptive students' school experiences in the English case-study site and those of the students in the United States' case-study site. Both sets of students indicate in their statements a high degree of similarity in their positive and negative comments on each of the four areas of schooling under consideration. In each case there is an emphasis upon positive and negative comment which is based upon direct student experience, rather than broader societal, cultural or ideological influences. In other words negative or positive reality is largely seen from a personal, experiential perspective.

The importance of looking at the continuum in this way is that it provides a holistic view of the statements made by the disruptive students. This suggests that, in both RHS and CVHS, there is a degree of positive response from the students to each of the four aspects of their school experience. This, it has been suggested, may be of some value in arguing for the incorporation of the viewpoints of the students in some aspects of school organisation and management.

#### **iv. THE MULTI-DIMENSIONAL FRAMEWORK OF DISRUPTIVE STUDENT REALITY.**

The ecosystem of the disruptive student's school experiences in this study has been analysed in the two previous sections by (i) a summary of the total ecosystemic experience and (ii) by investigating the range of positive and negative views which the students have provided. Both approaches are of importance in illustrating aspects of student experience in each of the four areas of schooling selected for investigation. But it is also the case that approaches which attempt to provide holistic interpretations of any group of school students, and the activities which they engage in, should recognise the dynamic and interactive nature of the ecosystemic experience (38). If this is absent there may be a danger that a separate analysis will merely present snapshots of the true ecosystemic nature of disruptive student experience. As Bronfenbrenner indicates :

Rarest of all is the recognition that environmental events and conditions outside any immediate setting containing the person can have a profound influence on the behavior and development within that setting. Such external influences can, for example,

play a critical role in defining the meaning of the immediate situation to the person. Unless this possibility is taken into account in the theoretical model guiding the interpretation of results, the findings can lead to misleading conclusions that both narrow and distort our understanding of the determinants, processes, and potential of human development. (39)

In order that the analytical procedures adopted in this study do not imply an interpretation which is ecologically 'narrow' the present section provides two further analytical approaches which, used alongside those previously described, allows a fuller ecosystemic picture of disruptive student reality to be maintained. In the first instance, therefore, some reference is made to the statements from the teachers of disruptive students. These have been gathered informally during the course of the research attachments in both RHS and CVHS. Secondly, six case studies of individual disruptive students will briefly be considered, in order to illustrate a number of common themes which help to confirm the microsystemic and mesosystemic focus of the disruptive students' school-experience.

#### **(a) Statements of Teachers of Disruptive Students (England and the United States.**

Section ii of Chapter Six has referred to the perceptions of school-teachers concerning the students they teach. In the case of disruptive students, there is considerable evidence in the literature (40) that such teacher perceptions may often lead to a process of labelling, and the consequent reinforcing of the marginalised position of such students within both the school as a mesosystem and the wider exo- and macro-systems to which the school belongs.

This section of the Chapter, therefore, provides a brief overview and analysis of the statements made by the teachers at both RHS and CVHS, in connection with their work with disruptive students in the two schools. These comments were obtained during the course of fieldwork at both case-study schools (41). No attempt has been made to quantify the teacher remarks. In the present study they are used to illustrate the tensions which exist between the professional endeavours and interpretations of the teachers and the individual reality of the disruptive students. Examples of teacher-statements are provided in Figure (xii), page 246. This illustrates teacher statements in each of the four categories of school experience selected for the main analysis of disruptive student statement (i.e. Curriculum & its Delivery, Personal and Professional Qualities of Teachers, Teachers' Interpretations of the Disruptive Behaviour of Students, and the Organisation and Ethos of the School). These will now be considered in turn and they are shown in full in Appendix H. Teacher

comments are indicated as either from the English school (RHS) or the American school (CVHS).

### The Curriculum and its Delivery.

The comments from teachers at RHS and CVHS provide some evidence to suggest that the staffs of both schools view their disruptive students largely in negative terms and in a way which implies an acceptance that within- student characteristics are the most important reasons for disruptive behaviour. At the same time, the two sets of teachers suggest in their remarks that school organisation of the academic curriculum for disruptive students is often unsatisfactory. In doing this, some acknowledgement is made by the teachers that their individual professional competencies are frequently inadequate to meet the needs of the disruptive students that they teach.

At RHS, therefore, the teacher comment that 'I always teach better when Thornton, Crossley and Walker are not in the class : they're born troublemakers' (RHS) and 'If they don't want to learn then I'm not prepared to teach them' (RHS) suggests a wholly negative view of the academic intentions of disruptive students in the English school. In CVHS there is a similar response from many teachers, once more implying a belief that the student is entirely responsible for the academic circumstances which he finds himself. Thus, the teachers at CVHS state that 'Teaching is an uphill battle where those students are concerned. The kids aren't interested and sometimes I think Hell! why should I be' (CVHS) and 'The students we're talking about are those who aren't going to graduate because they see no point in study. It's not part of their culture' (CVHS). These exemplar statements indicate that there appears to be a discrepancy between the teachers' views of the curriculum-orientated responses of the students and the views stated by the students themselves (see section ii of the present Chapter)

At the same time the teachers at both RHS and CVHS are critical of many of the ways in which their schools organise the academic curriculum for disruptive students. At RHS, for example, teachers talked frequently about the need to segregate disruptive students from their peers : 'The Head is really going to have to do something about the situation because having so many disruptive pupils in your class will cause standards to fall' (RHS) is one illustration of teacher comment in this area. In the case of CVHS, there appears to be less emphasis upon segregation in the remarks made by the teachers, but at the same time the teachers are often critical of other aspects of curriculum organisation within the school. This is illustrated by the comment from one teacher that 'We are academically orientated.

We don't cope too well with students who are out on a limb' (CVHS). So, in this group of comments there is some evidence that the teachers may be as critical of school curriculum organisation as the disruptive students that they teach.

Finally, there is some acknowledgement by teachers in RHS and CVHS that their individual professional skills may be inadequate to meet the demands of the disruptive students. Thus, one teacher at the English school stated that 'There have been occasions in the past when I've been trying to do some work with a group and its got to a point where I've thought 'this is useless' and just sat there' (RHS). This level of professional frustration is also reflected in the comments from some teachers in the American school, frankly exemplified by one staff-member 'I guess to be honest I don't cope very well with students like that' (CVHS).

In summary, this brief overview of teacher opinion concerning curriculum issues at both schools complements the substantive statements made by the disruptive students, considered earlier in this Chapter, in a number of ways. Firstly they support the views expressed by the students that they often have negative curriculum interactions with their teachers, and the criticism by the students that their teachers often have little time to give them. Secondly, the teachers provide some evidence that they share the opinions expressed by the disruptive students that the curriculum organisation within the school is frequently inappropriate to the needs of this group of students. And finally the teachers indicate that they recognise, in part at least, their lack of expertise in providing the curricular experiences which the students say they prefer or require.

#### Personal and Professional Qualities of Teachers.

Student comment concerning the personal and professional qualities of their teachers was analysed in Section ii (b) of this Chapter. As part of that analysis, four teacher-characteristics were identified. The verbatim remarks by students concerning each of these is illustrative of an emphasis by them upon the attributes of disposition and fairness rather than technique and control. Exemplar student statements from each of the four categories have been provided in Figure (vi), page 240.

Whilst it has been indicated that the use of teacher-statements is essentially a supporting one to the main task of researching the views of the disruptive students themselves, a quantitative analysis of the verbatim comments of the teachers concerning their personal and professional characteristics may be illustrative of the similarity between the views of

teachers and disruptive students concerning the four areas of school experiences under discussion. This is provided in Table G, page 237.

The teachers, at RHS and CVHS also emphasise issues of technique and control in their comments. The importance of teacher technique is illustrated by such comments as 'I always check up who I'm doing duty with....that way I know that if Micklewhite starts acting the fool I will be sure of help' (RHS) and 'We've taken a lot of shit in the last few years. It's important that we stick together' (CVHS). The control function of teachers appears to be equally important, indicating the importance of set rules within the school and of the need to be a 'strong teacher' (RHS) because 'I think disruptive kids respect you more if you stick to your guns' (RHS). In both schools there was an expressed view by the teachers that the control function was paramount in their interactions with disruptive students : 'I'd say there are two Faculty who just can't control their classes very well. I reckon most of us know that' (CVHS).

What the teacher comments do provide is some evidence that the teachers of disruptive students are instrumentalist in their approach to such students. They emphasise the need for good technique and control, and there is the suggestion within this that their approach to dealing with their disruptive students is reactive, in that they are respond to problem behaviour when it occurs, rather than predicting and, possibly, avoiding it. At the same time, however, it may be noted that the teachers appear to place less emphasis upon fairness and disposition.

This contrasts with the views of the disruptive students themselves, who stress the importance of the disposition and fairness of the teachers who work with them. Given that the disruptive students in both schools do appear to acknowledge these qualities in a teacher, it may be that the student becomes less inclined to engage in problematic behaviours with a teacher in whom he recognises such characteristics.

#### Teachers' Interpretations of the Disruptive Behaviour of Students.

Table D (i), page 234, has provided a quantitative summary of the microsystemic and mesosystemic explanations that the disruptive students at RHS and CVHS use to explain the disruptive behaviours that they engage in. The four categories of student-explanation which were subsequently used in that analysis can also be considered in the light of the interpretations of disruptive student behaviour which the teachers provide. These raise a number of issues.

The first is that, as with the students, the teachers in both RHS and CVHS provide little acknowledgement, in their verbatim remarks concerning student-behaviour, of anything other than microsystemic or mesosystemic factors. There is little acknowledgement of exosystemic or macrosystemic factors which might predicate the behaviour of their students. The teachers only occasionally articulated a view that societal factors might be used to explain problem behaviours and their subsequent responses. One teacher from the North American case-study school, for example, referred to a changing pattern of control which appeared to be based upon societal expectations : 'Things have changed a lot. At one time you could give a bad guy a cuff on the ear and it would be all sorted....they accepted that situation' (CVHS). Contrastingly, a teacher in the English school maintained that little had changed : 'I don't think schools have changed much from when I was in them in the early '70's' (RHS). The same teacher also remarked that 'You're always going to get a certain amount of unacceptable behaviour wherever you go' (RHS).

But these general views from the macrosystem remain isolated examples. The substantial absence of this type of comment by the teachers confirms the views expressed by the disruptive students themselves : that the most important influences on their behaviour were school processes, and particularly, their individual interactions with certain teachers.

A second issue raised by teacher comment in this category of statements is that the teachers at RHS tend to be more inclined to refer to specific students when illustrating disruptive behaviours. From the statements collected, the teachers at the English school refer to individual students on 12 separate occasions (a total of 23 teacher remarks were noted concerning behaviour). In the case of the school in the United States, individual students were referred to on only 2 occasions (a total of 22 teacher remarks were noted). This discrepancy may, in some way, be related to the more widespread influence of behavioural psychology in the special education in the United States which has been referred to elsewhere in this study. In this the focus tends to be on particular behaviours, rather than individual students (42).

Notwithstanding this, however, there remains a tendency by teachers in both RHS and CVHS to interpret the behaviour of the disruptive students in terms which are negative. This is particularly apparent in the English case-study site. Here the assessment of one student as '...the magnet for a deviant group in this school' (RHS) or another as 'a very nasty piece of work....he can destroy your lesson in an instant' (RHS) are indicative of this negative, even hostile, response. In the case-study from the United States there is more evidence of an equable approach to their disruptive students. The teachers at CVHS indicate in their statements the acceptance of non-deficit orientations of the disruptive students that they teach (42). In this context the term 'at-risk' was used to describe such students : for



example, in the comment that 'Some of the kids we work with have been at-risk since 1st Grade.....Disrupting classes is a way out for them' (CVHS).

### Teachers' Views on School Organisation and Ethos.

There is some evidence from the remarks made by teachers at both schools that they do not feel professionally supported by the school procedures that are in place and which relate directly to the disruptive students. In one sense the teachers indicate that they frequently feel that they are caught between the conflicting demands of the school system for order and those of the disruptive students, whose views they frequently regard as oppositional to the educational aims of the school. This apparent tension is apparent in both RHS and CVHS, but especially so in the former : it will now be briefly examined.

In the first place, teachers at RHS and CVHS indicate that many of the organisational features of their schools are inadequate to deal with the difficulties presented by disruptive students. At RHS, for example, there is an expressed belief that 'We need to be much more vigorous in the way that we deal with the disruptive element in this place' (RHS) and that 'Sometimes.....we suffer from being a big school, and our size gets in the way of effective action' (RHS).

At CVHS, too, there is some evidence that some teachers feel that the school's organisation does not allow them to deal effectively with the demands posed by disruptive students. This view is exemplified by the remark that 'There is a split between the administrators and the classroom instructors. That really hurts our efforts to create a workable School Disciplinary Code' (CVHS). But the main characteristic of the CVHS teachers' response is representative of support for the existing school organisation and procedures. For instance, one teacher commented that 'The school is generally very well organised and we have an acceptable disciplinary code' (CVHS).

At the same time, teacher comments from CVHS imply that they frequently adopt a more understanding view of student experiences of the organisational framework of the school than do their counterparts at RHS. They indicate that the school system could be changed in order to accomodate disruptive students more successfully : hence the comment that 'I don't think that we've explored all the possibilities with these kids. School is a negative place for some of them' (CVHS).

### Summative Comment Concerning the Remarks of Teachers.

The teachers in RHS and CVHS expressed views about four aspects of their work (curriculum, personal & professional qualities, disruptive behaviour and school organisation) in relation to disruptive students. The teachers from the two schools showed considerable similarity in that both focussed upon microsystemic and mesosystemic factors which saw the disruptive students in negative terms which made them both emphasise the control function of their work. Some tension was apparent between the views of classroom teachers who came in regular contact with the disruptive students, and those of the senior managers in the two schools, as represented by the way in which both RHS and CVHS organised provision for their disruptive students.

The next sub-section of the Chapter will use the individual student case-studies in order to illustrate the ecosystemic nature of their school experience, with its focus on the microsystem and the mesosystem.

### **(b) Individual Case-Studies of Disruptive Students.**

In order to illustrate the ecosystemic nature of the disruptive student's school experience, with its focus upon specific microsystemic and mesosystemic influences, six individual student case-studies will now be considered. These have been selected from the 24 disruptive students who had originally been identified by the teachers at RHS and CVHS (43). Three students were selected from each school.

Each student case-study comprised two parts. In the first, the historical background was considered in order to provide some information concerning the 'disruptive career' of the student (44). This was achieved by utilising school-records and the verbatim statements of the students and teachers. The second part consisted of a brief transcript from the student's conversations with teachers and peers during the course of a lesson. Chapter Eight has provided two examples of the data generated by these means, whilst the remaining four case-studies are contained in Appendix H. Figure (xiii), page 247, provides a synopsis of the key features illustrated by the student case-studies.

The student case-studies from both RHS and CVHS provide (i) further evidence of the microsystemic and mesosystemic focus of their school experiences whilst at the same time suggesting (ii) similarities in those experiences between disruptive students in the two countries. Both points will be dealt with simultaneously in the following pages.

Four common factors in the case-studies can be identified which amplify the suggestion that disruptive students in the research sites in England and the United States have similar experiences in school, and that these are influential in shaping their individual 'reality' : these are (i) an early interest in academic learning, (ii) positive relationships with certain teachers, (iii) negative relationships with specific, named teachers, and (iv) positive progress in certain school subjects. Each of these will now be considered in turn (45).

(i) Early Interest in Academic Learning.

In all six cases the students suggest some aptitude towards school-work during their primary/elementary schooling. Georgie (RHS), for example, was referred to as 'an above average achiever in academic subjects', whilst Wayne (CVHS) was considered by his elementary school principal as 'a cheerful, hardworking student who seemed to get on well with teachers and classmates.....he was academically bright'.

Later, in the early years of secondary education, a similar commitment to school-work may be noted in the students from both countries. Both Georgie and Wayne, for example, maintained their progress. The other case-study examples are also indicative of this situation : school-records indicate that Ian (RHS) continued to make 'satisfactory progress' and that Dale 'maintained his academic progress'.

These illustrations are supportive of research findings in both England and the United States. In both countries evidence suggests that disruptive behaviour by students in schools is frequently concentrated in adolescence , although there are some indications that this picture may be changing. Nevertheless, the student case-studies from both countries suggest that, whilst factors relating to adolescent development may be important, the differences which exist between primary/elementary schools and secondary schools in both countries may equally be contributing factors .

(ii) Positive Relationships with Certain Teachers.

This characteristic can be illustrated by reference to the case-study transcripts. In both countries there is evidence that the disruptive students respond well to certain teachers. This positive interaction is indicative of an acceptance, by the students, of certain preferred teacher characteristics, discussed in section ii(b) of the present Chapter.

The students prefer teachers who aren't boring ('I wish we had Mr. Jenkins. He's really good' (Georgie, RHS), 'I want to be entertained, man. Teachers should liven it up.....like Ferrens' (Wayne, CVHS) are transcript examples of this preference). They also prefer teachers who treat them with respect ('Yeah. They should let you run it, Miss. You're decent 'cos you don't look down on us'(Ian, RHS) and 'Only teachers like Ferrens and Jacobs make it OK 'cos they care' (Peter, CVHS) are student-comments which illustrate this). Disruptive students in the study also recognise the importance of humour in a teacher's presentation : one reference to this in the transcripts is that 'She's got a sense of humour. At least you can have a joke with her' (Georgie, RHS).

Finally, the illustrative transcripts from the case-studies in both England and the United States stress the importance placed by the disruptive students on fairness as a teacher quality. Thus Chris remarks that 'I reckon that Mrs. Chalmers is decent. She treats us like normal. She doesn't have favourites' (Chris, RHS), whilst in similar vein, a student from CVHS suggests that one teacher is acceptable because he 'just treats everyone equal' (Dale, CVHS).

In these respects, therefore, the disruptive students express views which are not markedly dissimilar to those of students in England and the United States who have not been categorised as 'disruptive'.

### (iii) Negative Relationships with Specific Teachers.

Section ii(b) has indicated that the reality of the disruptive student's school experience in this study is often premised by their dislike of certain named teachers. The views expressed by the students indicate that this dislike extends much further than a straightforward disagreement over professional issues. Thus, the six student case-studies offer several examples which indicate that the personal attributes of certain teachers often compound an absence of the professional characteristics which the students prefer. This is apparent in the individual student case-studies from both RHS and CVHS.

In the former, for example, Chris offers evidence of a long-running feud with Mr. Benyon which has gone beyond the student's disagreement with the teacher-strategies that Mr. Benyon adopts : 'Bengo's shit. He's lazy and he's got spots and he thinks He's smart' (Chris, RHS). Elsewhere, Chris has stated that he would 'like to do Bengo' (RHS). A similar situation has developed in the relationship between Wayne and Mr. Dolwin at CVHS. Whilst Wayne has indicated some antipathy towards Mr. Dolwin's professional tactics by stating that 'Dolwin doesn't understand me. He keeps pressurising me, making me do stupid work' (Wayne, CVHS) he has also said that 'Dolwin is the one I'll come

back for.....he's made life shit for me here. He's never given me a chance' (Wayne, CVHS).

(iv) Positive Progress in Certain School Subjects.

Irrespective of their antagonism to certain teachers, the disruptive students in this study do have a positive attitude towards some school subjects. This appears to remain to some extent throughout their secondary school experience , and serves to contradict a view, expressed by some of the teachers from RHS and CVHS, that 'they are only in this place to fool around and wreck the chances of others' (RHS).

Georgie (RHS), for example, continued to 'progress satisfactorily in all subjects apart from Maths and General Science'. Also at RHS, Ian Hardman was able to maintain his work in Geography and English, in spite of being referred out of all his other school subjects. Similar examples of positive progress may be taken from the case-studies at CVHS. Dale, for example, stressed that he saw Social Studies as one school-subject which he wished to persevere with because 'I like Social Studies. I can do that' (Dale, CVHS)

Points (i) to (iv) above are each indicative of a microsystemic and mesosystemic focus of disruptive student reality, in both England and the United States. The case-studies offer a context in which those factors which emphasise 1:1 relationships, between disruptive student and teacher, and the former's response to aspects of school organisation can be viewed dynamically. Moreover, the student case-studies lend support to the proposal that such student responses are both positive and negative in content. This, in turn, enables the organismic principles implied in Bronfenbrenner's cautionary statement that

We find in practice, however,.....a marked asymmetry, a hypertrophy of theory and research focusing on the properties of the person and only the most rudimentary conception and characterization of the environment in which the person is found to be incorporated. (46)

But the individual student case-studies also provide illustrations of the organic or ecosystemic nature of the school-experiences of the students. This is adequately demonstrated by the fact that of the six case-studies recorded, five make reference to what may generally, although perhaps euphemistically, be referred to as 'domestic problems'. It may be apparent that this feature signals an acknowledgement that disruptive students, in England and the United States, are largely drawn from those social groups which face considerable economic and social disadvantage and located primarily in urban locations (47).

## CONCLUSION

The analysis of data contained in this section may be summarised as follows:

- (i) The disruptive students at the case-study sites in both England and the United States provide evidence in their statements that their views concerning their school experiences are frequently similar. This similarity may be noted in the areas of curriculum, personal and professional characteristics of teachers, interpretations of disruptive behaviour and school organisation and ethos.
- (ii) Given this similarity, between the views of the two sets of disruptive students, it has also been noted that these comprise both positive and negative statement concerning their experiences in school.
- (iii) The statements of the disruptive students suggest a focus upon the microsystem and the mesosystem, with particular emphasis being placed on a student's 1:1 interaction with named teachers in the two schools. Other ecosystemic comments are significantly less important.
- (iv) Some differences between the two research sites do occur. These are particularly apparent in the statements that the disruptive students make concerning (a) their prospects for the future (the students from the school in the United States were more optimistic) (b) their references to specific teachers (the English students in the study tended to generalise more frequently) and (c) their statements concerning specific behaviours (the disruptive students from the United States were more inclined to relate specific incidents).

From these four points of analysis several issues relating to the position of disruptive students in England and the United States can be identified for discussion. These relate, firstly, to the potential relationship between micro and macro factors : to what extent are small-scale studies, of the type undertaken in this study, indicative of national educational traits ? Secondly, there is some implication, in the statements made by the disruptive students at RHS and CVHS, that there is a discrepancy between the reality as perceived by them and the viewpoints of the teachers and administrators at the two schools. The disjunction between reality and rhetoric, therefore, provides a second focus for discussion. Thirdly, the tensions between micro- and macro- interpretations, and the differences between the views and practices of educational professionals and those of the disruptive students, are suggestive of the need to develop an ethos in the schools of both countries which provides support for student advocacy. These issues will be debated in the final Chapter of this study.

|   | RHS | CVHS |
|---|-----|------|
| Curriculum & its Delivery                       | 166 | 101  |
| Personal & Professional Qualities of Teachers   | 119 | 118  |
| Students' Views Concerning Disruptive Behaviour | 114 | 122  |
| School Organisation & Ethos                     | 93  | 68   |
|   | 492 | 409  |
| TOTAL NUMBER OF STATEMENTS 901                  |     |      |

Table A : Summary of Disruptive Student Statements concerning Four Aspects  
Aspects of their Schooling

|       | RHS        |      | CVHS       |      |
|-------|------------|------|------------|------|
|       | STATEMENTS | %    | STATEMENTS | %    |
| MICRO | 56         | 33.7 | 31         | 31.3 |
| MESO  | 81         | 48.7 | 46         | 45.5 |
| EXO   | 27         | 16.2 | 18         | 13.8 |
| MACRO | 2          | 1.2  | 6          | 5.9  |
|       | N = 166    |      | N = 101    |      |

Table B : Disruptive Student Statements (Curriculum & its Delivery)



| Type of Statement         | RHS    | %    | CVHS   | %    |
|---------------------------|--------|------|--------|------|
| Subject-specific          | 21     | 37.5 | 10     | 32.2 |
| Subject -teachers         | 24     | 42.8 | 14     | 45.1 |
| Teaching & Learning Style | 11     | 19.6 | 7      | 22.5 |
|                           | n = 56 |      | n = 31 |      |

Table B(i) : Disruptive Students' Microsystemic Statements (Curriculum & its Delivery)

| Type of Statement                  | RHS    | %    | CVHS   | %    |
|------------------------------------|--------|------|--------|------|
| School organisation of curriculum  | 17     | 20.9 | 8      | 17.3 |
| Teaching & learning                | 54     | 66.6 | 24     | 52.1 |
| Curricular interactions with peers | 6      | 7.4  | 5      | 10.8 |
| Curriculum expectations            | 7      | 8.6  | 9      | 19.5 |
|                                    | n = 84 |      | n = 46 |      |

Table B (ii) : Disruptive Students' Mesosystemic Statements  
(Curriculum)

|       | RHS     | %    | CVHS    | %    |
|-------|---------|------|---------|------|
| Micro | 24      | 20.1 | 58      | 49.1 |
| Meso  | 66      | 55.4 | 48      | 40.6 |
| Exo   | 26      | 21.8 | 8       | 6.7  |
| Macro | 3       | 2.5  | 4       | 3.3  |
|       | n = 119 |      | n = 118 |      |

Table C : Disruptive Student Statements (Personal & Professional Qualities of Teachers)

| Teacher Characteristic | RHS    | %    | CVHS   | %    |
|------------------------|--------|------|--------|------|
| Teacher Technique      | 4      | 16.6 | 10     | 17.2 |
| Teacher Disposition    | 6      | 25.0 | 22     | 37.9 |
| Teacher Control        | 6      | 25.0 | 12     | 20.6 |
| Teacher Fairness       | 7      | 29.1 | 10     | 17.2 |
| Uncategorised          | 1      | 4.1  | 4      | 6.8  |
|                        | n = 24 |      | n = 58 |      |

Table C(i) : Disruptive Students' Microsystemic Statements (Personal & Professional Qualities of Teachers)

|       | RHS     | %    | CVHS    | %    |
|-------|---------|------|---------|------|
| MICRO | 30      | 26.3 | 52      | 42.6 |
| MESO  | 38      | 33.3 | 48      | 39.3 |
| EXO   | 14      | 12.2 | 8       | 6.5  |
| MACRO | 32      | 28.0 | 14      | 11.5 |
|       | n = 114 |      | n = 122 |      |

Table D : Disruptive Student Statements (Interpretations of Disruptive Behaviour)

|                                  | RHS    | %    | CVHS    | %    |
|----------------------------------|--------|------|---------|------|
| Micro (i) ('My Fault')           | 14     | 23.3 | 23      | 23.0 |
| Micro (ii) (Teacher's Fault)     | 13     | 15.0 | 19      | 19.0 |
| Meso (i) (School System)         | 18     | 26.5 | 16      | 16.0 |
| Meso (ii) (Other Peoples' Fault) | 15     | 22.0 | 26      | 26.0 |
|                                  | n = 68 |      | n = 100 |      |

Table D(i) : Explanations for Disruptive Behaviour provided by Disruptive Students

|       | RHS    | %    | CVHS   | %    |
|-------|--------|------|--------|------|
| Micro | 17     | 18.3 | 22     | 32.4 |
| Meso  | 70     | 75.3 | 36     | 52.9 |
| Exo   | 3      | 3.2  | 4      | 5.9  |
| Macro | 3      | 3.2  | 6      | 8.8  |
|       | n = 93 |      | n = 68 |      |

Table E : Summary of Disruptive Student Statements  
(School Organisation and Ethos)

|  | System | +Abs | +Inst | +Ind | +Pers | Neut | -Pers | -Ind | -Inst | -Abs | RHS (1)<br>CVHS (2) |
|--|--------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|---------------------|
| Curriculum &<br>its Delivery                           | MICRO  | 3    | 0     | 7    | 9     | 2    | 9     | 13   | 9     | 3    | 1                   |
|  |        | 0    | 4     | 3    | 5     | 1    | 5     | 7    | 4     | 2    | 2                   |
|  | MESO   | 1    | 2     | 14   | 6     | 3    | 5     | 32   | 15    | 2    | 1                   |
|  |        | 0    | 2     | 12   | 4     | 2    | 4     | 20   | 1     | 1    | 2                   |
|  | EXO    | 2    | 1     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 5     | 5    | 12    | 1    | 1                   |
|  |        | 1    | 4     | 2    | 0     | 1    | 0     | 3    | 5     | 2    | 2                   |
|  | MACRO  | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 1     | 1    | 1                   |
|  |        | 4    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 2    | 2                   |
| Personal &<br>Professional<br>Qualities of<br>Teachers | MICRO  | 0    | 1     | 8    | 1     | 0    | 2     | 10   | 1     | 1    | 1                   |
|  |        | 0    | 2     | 18   | 6     | 0    | 2     | 28   | 2     | 0    | 2                   |
|  | MESO   | 3    | 1     | 11   | 6     | 2    | 4     | 24   | 9     | 6    | 1                   |
|  |        | 1    | 14    | 2    | 2     | 1    | 4     | 2    | 19    | 3    | 2                   |
|  | EXO    | 0    | 5     | 4    | 0     | 0    | 2     | 3    | 11    | 1    | 1                   |
|  |        | 0    | 2     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 4     | 2    | 2                   |
|  | MACRO  | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 2    | 1                   |
|  |        | 1    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 1     | 2    | 2                   |
| Curriculum &<br>its Delivery                           | MICRO  | 1    | 0     | 3    | 6     | 0    | 9     | 7    | 2     | 2    | 1                   |
|  |        | 0    | 0     | 4    | 10    | 0    | 22    | 12   | 4     | 0    | 2                   |
|  | MESO   | 2    | 2     | 3    | 6     | 0    | 6     | 8    | 6     | 5    | 1                   |
|  |        | 1    | 8     | 4    | 3     | 1    | 6     | 16   | 5     | 4    | 2                   |
|  | EXO    | 1    | 6     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 5     | 2    | 1                   |
|  |        | 0    | 1     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 1     | 0    | 2     | 4    | 2                   |
|  | MACRO  | 11   | 8     | 1    | 0     | 3    | 0     | 0    | 5     | 4    | 1                   |
|  |        | 1    | 2     | 0    | 0     | 1    | 0     | 0    | 3     | 7    | 2                   |
| Personal &<br>Professional<br>Qualities of<br>Teachers | MICRO  | 0    | 3     | 6    | 1     | 0    | 2     | 3    | 2     | 0    | 1                   |
|  |        | 1    | 0     | 4    | 3     | 0    | 3     | 8    | 1     | 2    | 2                   |
|  | MESO   | 1    | 18    | 11   | 3     | 2    | 3     | 5    | 23    | 4    | 1                   |
|  |        | 2    | 7     | 3    | 0     | 1    | 2     | 7    | 14    | 0    | 2                   |
|  | EXO    | 1    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 1    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 1    | 1                   |
|  |        | 0    | 0     | 0    | 1     | 2    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 1    | 2                   |
|  | MACRO  | 2    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 1    | 1                   |
|  |        | 2    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0     | 4    | 2                   |

Table F : Summary of Positive-Negative Statements of Disruptive Students



|             | RHS    | %    | CVHS   | %    |
|-------------|--------|------|--------|------|
| Technique   | 19     | 39.6 | 13     | 38.2 |
| Disposition | 9      | 18.7 | 7      | 20.6 |
| Control     | 14     | 29.2 | 12     | 35.3 |
| Fairness    | 6      | 12.5 | 2      | 5.9  |
|             | n = 48 |      | n = 34 |      |

Table G : Teachers' Comments Concerning Their Own Personal & Professional Qualities

| CATEGORY OF STATEMENT | AREA OF SCHOOL EXPERIENCE | CATEGORY OF STATEMENT   |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|---|
| <b>MICROSYSTEMIC</b>  | Curriculum                | 1. Reference to named subject<br>2. Reference to specific event/process<br>3. Reference to self or named teacher  |
|                       | Personal/Professional     | 1. Reference to named teacher<br>2. Reference to specific incident<br>3. Reference to named teachers personal/professional qualities  |
|                       | Disruptive Behaviour      | 1. Reference to specific incident<br>2. Reference to self or named teacher  |
|                       | Organisation and Ethos    | 1. Reference to specific school rule or procedure<br>2. Reference to application of the rule or procedure by named teacher  |
| <b>MESOSYSTEMIC</b>   | Curriculum                | 1. General references to subjects<br>2. General references to curricular events and processes   |
|                       | Personal/Professional     | 1. General references to teachers<br>2. General references to teachers personal/professional qualities  |
|                       | Disruptive Behaviour      | 1. General references to disruptive incidents<br>2. General references to other students disruptive behaviour<br>3. General references to teachers regarding disruptive behaviour               |
|                       | Organisation and Ethos    | 1. General references to school rules or procedures<br>2. General references to teachers application of rule or procedure<br>3. General references to school organisation or physical structure |
| <b>EXOSYSTEMIC</b>    | Curriculum                | 1. Reference to home<br>2. Reference to Local Authority or School Board<br>3. Reference to other schools or colleges  |
|                       | Personal/Professional     | 1. General reference to teaching profession<br>2. Reference to Local Authority or School Board  |
|                       | Disruptive Behaviour      | 1. Reference to Home<br>2. Reference to LEA or School Board regulations<br>3. Reference to external agencies  |
|                       | Organisation and Ethos    | 1. Reference to Home<br>2. Reference to Local Authority or School Board<br>3. Reference to out-of-school activities   |
| <b>MACROSYSTEMIC</b>  | Curriculum                | 1. Abstract references to learning  |
|                       | Personal/Professional     | 1. Abstract references to teachers  |
|                       | Disruptive Behaviour      | 1. Abstract references to disruptive behaviour  |
|                       | Organisation and Ethos    | 1. Abstract references to organisation and ethos  |

Figure iv : Criteria for categorising disruptive student names

| CONTINUUM LOCATION | EXPLANATION   | ECOSYSTEMIC LOCATION |
|--------------------|---|----------------------|
| + Abstract         | Positive statement concerning schools in general & factors outside schools          | Macro                |
| + Institutional    | Positive statement concerning aspects of organisation of education in general       | Exo                  |
| + Individual       | Positive statement relating to the school, its teachers and organisation in general | Meso                 |
| + Personal         | Positive statement relating to individual teachers, subjects and incidents          | Micro                |
| Neutral            | Statement containing both + and - observations                                      |                      |
| - Personal         | Negative statement relating to individual teachers, subjects and incidents          | Micro                |
| - Individual       | Negative statement relating to the school, its teachers and organisation in general | Meso                 |
| - Institutional    | Negative statement concerning organisation of education in general                  | Exo                  |
| - Abstract         | Negative statement concerning schools in general & factors outside schools          | Macro                |

Figure (v) : Explanation of the Positive-Negative Continuum of Disruptive Student Statements

|             | Disruptive Student statement   | Teacher Characteristic   |
|-------------|--|--|
| Technique   | <p>Teachers can't really help you that much if you're a problem (RHS)</p> <p>Some of them tell me off in front of my mates...and I get shamed (RHS)</p> <p>My favourite teacher has everything planned and helps you with work (RHS)</p> <p>Teachers should plan our work better so we know what's happening (RHS)</p> <p>He's cool. He helps us a lot in class and that (CVHS)</p> <p>Some of the teachers make us work too fast (CVHS)</p> <p>He works us real hard. Man, we come out of class and think it was great (CVHS)</p> <p>There's some staff here who really get involved with us. They want to hear our questions (CVHS)</p>  | <p>Agreed Rules</p> <p>Private Discipline</p> <p>Organised</p> <p>Involved</p> <p>Hardworking</p> <p>Helpful</p>               |
| Disposition | <p>A lot of teachers are scared to deal with things (RHS)</p> <p>I think a teacher has to be nice...with a sense of humour (RHS)</p> <p>I like a teacher who is calm and the class is quiet and everyone works (RHS)</p> <p>Some teachers are hard and some are soft. I like the hard ones (RHS)</p> <p>When you meet her outside she's really different, like you're really there (RHS)</p> <p>I like teachers who listen (RHS)</p> <p>He's always yelling at us to do this or to do that. It sucks (CVHS)</p> <p>When teachers are on supervisory duty you can talk to them OK (CVHS)</p> <p>I get a lot of help from her. She makes me feel I'm worth something (CVHS)</p> <p>He cuts up rough sometimes. He can't take a joke (CVHS)</p> <p>You never know when Silvo's going to blow. You have to be ready (CVHS)</p> | <p>Deals with own problems</p> <p>Strict</p> <p>Ability to listen</p> <p>Friendly</p> <p>Not unpredictable</p> <p>Respects</p> |
| Control     | <p>Some teachers definitely can't control the pupils (RHS)</p> <p>There are some teachers who just can't discipline (RHS)</p> <p>At times the teachers are not capable of controlling the pupils because the kids are bigger than them (RHS)</p> <p>The teachers are too soft...they can't control the pupils (RHS)</p> <p>He can't cope. If there's a problem he'll just send for the Principal (CVHS)</p> <p>He came down to the 9th Grade Hall and started shouting. I thought 'Fuck this, I ain't taking this' (CVHS)</p> <p>Silverino has a short temper and he uses it on us guys (CVHS)</p> <p>Some teachers apply the rules real strict, others don't: some guys get real confused at that (CVHS)</p>  | <p>Good Discipline</p> <p>Strict</p> <p>Deals with behaviour problems personally</p> <p>calm control</p> <p>Consistent</p>     |
| Fairness    | <p>If they gave everyone a chance to say what they have to say it would help us (RHS)</p> <p>Bad behaviour is not dealt with properly: sometimes you're punished for little things (RHS)</p> <p>I think it's unfair to be picked on all the time (RHS)</p> <p>Some teachers call you names behind your back (RHS)</p> <p>It's unfair that I get sent to the Resource Room when I haven't done anything (CVHS)</p> <p>She always blames us. Even when we're not there she blames us (CVHS)</p> <p>They never wait for my explanation...they don't care about my view (CVHS)</p> <p>He said I couldn't eat my danish in the hallway. I was hungry so I ate it. I get sent to Estenson for that (CVHS)</p>  | <p>Negotiates</p> <p>Punishment fits 'crime'</p> <p>Willingness to discuss</p> <p>Honest</p> <p>Allows explanations</p>        |

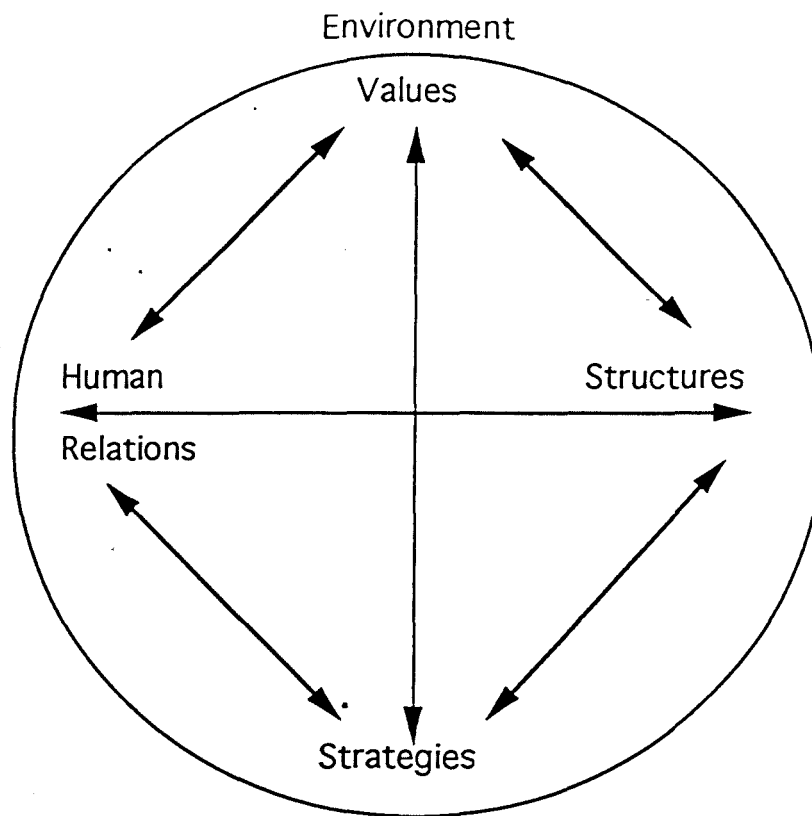
Figure (vi) : Positive Teacher-Characteristics Indicated in Disruptive Student Statements

|      |                                  |  |
|------|----------------------------------|--|
| RHS  | MICRO<br>(‘my fault’)            | I was out of order when I scratched a teachers car<br>If you disrupt a lesson you deserve to get sent out<br>I know I do stuff just to annoy them and get my own back<br>A lot of times I’m in trouble because I want to get out of work<br>I’m disruptive when I make stupid noises in class<br>When you’re in a scrap and its your fault you should be sent home   |
|      | MICRO<br>(‘Teacher’s fault’)     | It gets a bit unfair when I’m picked on for nothing at all.<br>I fool around with those teachers who treat me like shit<br>In some classes the teacher can’t control us and then says we’re disruptive<br>She’s the worst because she’s so tense...you can’t do a thing right<br>Teachers get het up by small things....stupid things<br>Teachers who are crap are them that get the trouble   |
|      | MESO<br>(‘Schools fault’)        | Not enough attention is paid to what goes on at breaktime<br>On Thursdays all the lessons are shit...so you work for a bit of excitement<br>It’s only beating up a kid badly, or a teacher : everything else is just school<br>Its OK to take the piss out of teachers because everyone does that<br>You have to have a go....because of the stupid rules<br>Nothings provided for us here, so we make our own fun, like.....trouble |
|      | MESO<br>(‘other peoples’ fault’) | Sometimes the arguments get out of hand and people do too much cussing<br>Too many pupils bunk off lessons<br>The school should be strict when pupils bring an offensive weapon in<br>Sometimes my mates wind me up<br>Those kids who are rude to teachers should get kicked out<br>Thomton and the others are always at it. They’re bad   |
| CVHS | MICRO<br>(‘my fault’)            | I kick up sometimes in school because I’ve got a personal problem<br>Me and Wayne were fighting so we expected to get sorted<br>I,m in trouble because I get bored easy<br>I was making fart noises so the teacher sent me away<br>Theres not much activity so I act up<br>When I’m low I sometimes play around  |
|      | MICRO<br>(‘Teacher’s fault’)     | He called me by my second name...it makes me mad<br>I get called a streetbum by him so I act like one<br>She just says ‘Don’t interrupt’ all the time when I go to her<br>He deserves it. Silvo’s a crazy man.<br>He makes a mistake and won’t admit it and then he gets mad<br>Sometimes teachers just ask for it...they think they’re always right   |
|      | MESO<br>(‘Schools fault’)        | They should make the rules easier to follow then we’d be OK<br>School rules are too strict and petty, man<br>If school was more exciting I’d attend classes and not fool<br>Sometimes in class its too heavy....classes should be relaxed<br>School’s not organised for us guys...they’re not interested in us<br>It’s pathetic here, being shoved around and disciplined all the time   |
|      | MESO<br>(‘other peoples’ fault’) | I got trouble when I sounded off when some guy ripped off myjacket<br>There are some students who really disrupt class and stop us working<br>We’re a gang...we’re all together...we all get in trouble<br>Some kids go crazy in school. They just get bored a do crazy things<br>There’s some who don’t do any assignments...they deserve it<br>It’s just because they get pissed off with things, thats all                        |

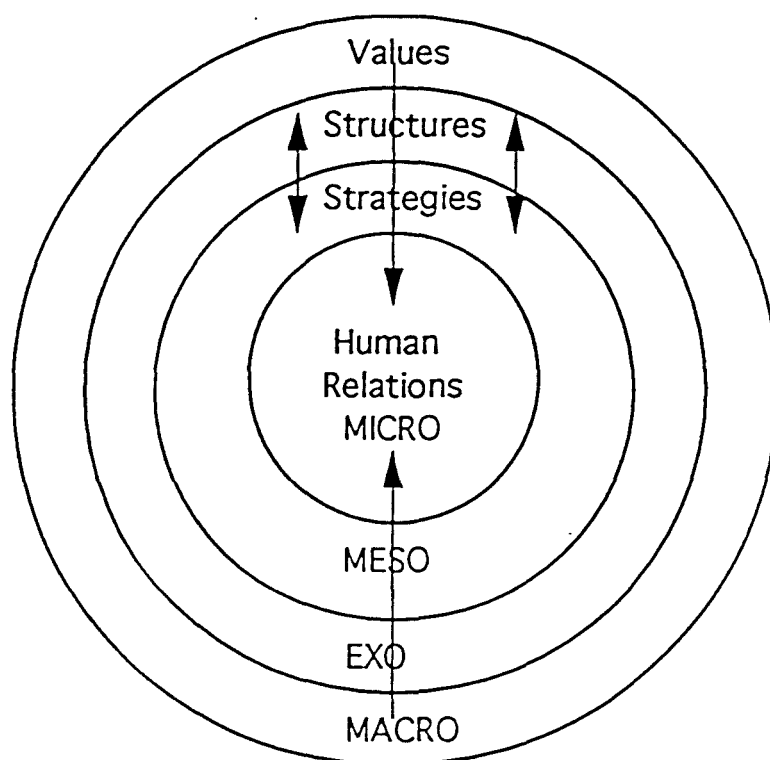
Figure (vii) : Illustrative Statements from Disruptive Students concerning their Behaviours

|  |  |
|--|--|
|  | <p>RHS</p> <p>Sometimes Smillie asks us to come to his room for a chat - but you think he's listening and the 'phone rings and he says he's got to go.</p> <p>The head of this school is no good.</p> <p>I like to dodge Gibbins on the corridors at break.</p> <p>Some teachers, like Dimmock and Smillie, are in the school just to tell us off.</p>   |
|  | <p>Teachers here make the rules and then say 'We're all in this together'.</p> <p>They expect bad behaviour from us and plan things so that they can control us.</p> <p>Teachers think that the rules are followed if no-one breaks them....but we please ourselves most of the time and don't get found out.</p> <p>It's best on the corridors at break and lunch, 'cos there's no teachers.</p> <p>The worst thing is assembly, because you just listen to music and get told off.</p> |
|  | <p>I think we should have a proper school council for serious stuff.</p> <p>We should have a special room so we could have our own rules.</p> <p>You know there's no respect because when you're in trouble a note goes up.</p> <p>Other schools have got good facilities, but we've not.</p> <p>If I were in charge I'd make sure we were listened to by someone with power.</p> <p>We've got a class representative, but she never tells them how we feel.</p>                         |
|  | <p>None of us will be prefects or have any responsibility....we know that.</p> <p>There's a way round everything.</p> <p>You get depressed when you come to this place.</p> <p>A school is where you should learn, not where you get told off.</p> <p>They tell us we'll get a job if we do well, but that's just bollocks.</p>  |
|  | <p>CVHS</p> <p>I'm only staying here because my probation officer tells me to.</p> <p>We can hang around in the school halls. That's OK until Estenson kicks your butt.</p> <p>Deakins is the only guy we take it from. He's the main guy in this place.</p> <p>There's two or three teachers who do the business...keeping thins moving.</p>  |
|  | <p>They ask you for good attendance, but don't make it appealing enough to attend.</p> <p>Some of the teachers are really cute....they say they know how it is for us, but they don't at all.</p> <p>Teachers on supervisory duty are worst of all : they're like cops.</p> <p>Some teachers use the rules badly and that creates an atmosphere.</p>   |
|  | <p>It's worst in the wintertime when we don't go outside during recess.</p> <p>The seniors have a place to themselves and are allowed to make rules.</p> <p>I'd change a lot of things : there's too much division between good and bad students.</p> <p>I did sign a contract when I came here, but the teachers never kept their side of it so I don't keep mine.</p> <p>There's no facilities for guys like me here. School's organised for the good guys.</p>                        |
|  | <p>I guess I just don't like school. It's a real drag.</p> <p>School's alright for hanging out.</p> <p>It's just a game for guys like me.</p> <p>There's no point in staying here....I want to move away from here.</p> <p>Life's too short for fooling around I suppose.</p>  |

Figure (viii) : Disruptive Student Statements illustrating Dalin's Model



(a) Dalin's model of school organisation



(b) Ecosystemic adaptation of Dalin's model

Figure (ix) : Dalin's Model and its Ecosystemic Adaption

|                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| + Abstract      | Everyone should get on with everybody else. (RHS)<br>Everyone's got to go to school, I guess. (CVHS)   |
| + Institutional | Some schools are good because the staff understand you when you're in a bit of bother. (RHS)<br>We need more people to visit and stuff...give us encouragement. (CVHS) |
| + Individual    | With some of the teachers it's alright and then you think it's worth being in school. (RHS)<br>Two or three teachers make it worthwhile coming to school. (CVHS)       |
| + Personal      | I enjoy PE because it's good and active. (RHS)<br>Some stuff, like Social Studies and being with Freidel, is OK. (CVHS)  |
| NEUTRAL         | School's just a place to be, that's all. (RHS)<br>You've got to do something, so you come here. (CVHS)   |
| Personal        | Dimmock only teaches the good ones : he doesn't know what interests us. (RHS)<br>Mrs. Zeitlin hates me. She thinks I'm nothing. (CVHS)                                 |
| Individual      | You can tell when a teacher doesn't like you by the way they pass you on the corridor. (RHS)<br>I don't want their shit, their stupid rules and stuff. (CVHS)          |
| Institutional   | Schools are badly organised and you can never do the subjects you want. (RHS)<br>They ought to get the School Board down and listen to some of this shit. (CVHS)       |
| Abstract        | Anything to do with schools and all that is crap and useless. (RHS)<br>It's us and them. That's the tradition...that's what's expected. (CVHS)                         |

Figure (x) : Disruptive Students' Statements illustrating the Positive-Negative Continuum.



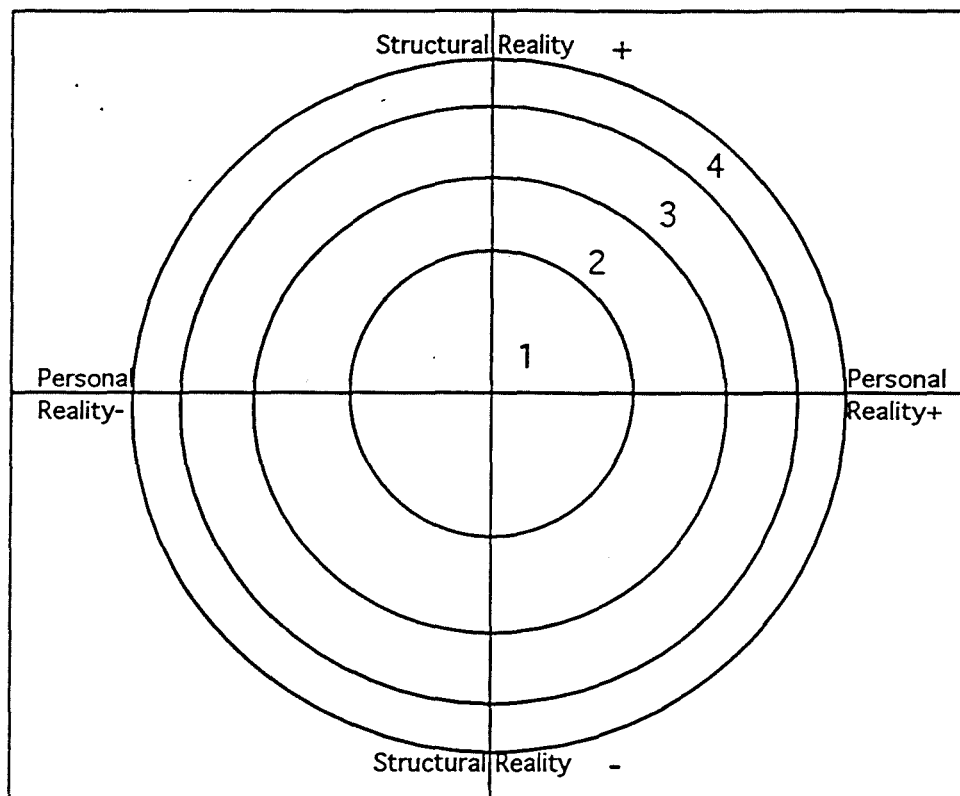


Figure xi : Model showing horizontal-vertical axis of reality

|  |
|--|
| CURRICULUM & ITS DELIVERY  |
| <p>His interest in Science is virtually nil....he has paid very little attention to what is said or done (RHS)</p> <p>I'd like more time in my class to be able to support those kids (RHS)</p> <p>I can honestly say that Hardman and Thornton have learnt nothing at all in the 18 months that I've been teaching them (RHS)</p> <p>How can I get those kids to learn ? They didn't teach me that at College (CVHS)</p> <p>Some kids don't respond in the way in which our programmes are grade orientated (CVHS)</p> <p>Teaching is an uphill battle where those students are concerned (CVHS)</p>              |
| PERSONAL & PROFESSIONAL QUALITIES OF TEACHERS  |
| <p>Basically you just try to do your job (RHS)</p> <p>Disruptive students are usually pretty deviant in all sorts of ways (RHS)</p> <p>I always check up who I'm doing duty with...that way I know if Frost or Thonton start acting up I will be sur of help (RHS)</p> <p>Every kid could do with a kick in the ass every once in a while (CVHS)</p> <p>I'd say that there are two Faculty who can't control their class very well...I reckon most of us know that (CVHS)</p> <p>Our ISS is very successful with disruptive students because of the personalities of those who organise it (CVHS)</p>              |
| INTERPRETATIONS OF DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR  |
| <p>Typically he has shown gross indiscipline and wilful behaviour (RHS)</p> <p>He frequently behaves in a totally irresponsible manner with chemicals and I'm worried about not only his safety but that of the other pupils (RHS)</p> <p>Thornton is a magnet for a deviant group in this school (RHS)</p> <p>A quiet word is usually enough to ensure that a rule is followed (CVHS)</p> <p>CVH is better than some inner urban schools. Our students fool around and cut class sometimes but, hell, who didn't ? (CVHS)</p> <p>Some of the kids we work with have been at risk since the first grade (CVHS)</p> |
| SCHOOL ORGANISATION AND ETHOS  |
| <p>The staff room is like a haven of sanity for a lot of us (RHS)</p> <p>Too little emphasis is given to enforcing strong discipline (RHS)</p> <p>None of our disruptive pupils involve themselves in the life of the school (RHS)</p> <p>We care about our students : we have a Resource Room and a Counselor to help them (CVHS)</p> <p>I don't think we've explored all the possibilities with these kids. School is a negative place for some of them (CVHS)</p> <p>Disruptive students should be permanently removed (CVHS)</p>   |

Figure (xii) Indicative Examples of Teachers' Comments

|         | CASE STUDY CHARACTERISTIC  |
|---------|--|
| CHRIS   | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Early interest in academic learning (Primary school)</li> <li>2. Some domestic problems reported</li> <li>3. Initial progress in Secondary School</li> <li>4. Relationship problems with named teachers</li> <li>5. Continued progress in certain subjects</li> <li>6. Explicit wish to make school 'fun'</li> <li>7. Expresses both positive and negative views about school</li> </ol> |
| GEORGIE | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Early interest in academic learning (Primary School)</li> <li>2. Some domestic problems reported</li> <li>3. Initial progress in Secondary School</li> <li>4. Relationship problems with named teachers</li> <li>5. Frequent acknowledgement of low status in the student-hierarchy</li> <li>6. Expresses both positive and negative views about school</li> </ol>                       |
| IAN     | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Early interest in academic learning (Primary School)</li> <li>2. Some domestic problems reported</li> <li>3. Initial progress in Secondary School</li> <li>4. Relationship problems with named teachers</li> <li>5. Continued progress in certain subjects</li> </ol>  |
| WAYNE   | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Early interest in academic learning (Elementary School)</li> <li>2. No domestic problems reported</li> <li>3. Satisfactory academic progress reported at high school</li> <li>4. Acknowledgement of named teachers' positive and negative qualities</li> </ol>   |
| DALE    | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Early indications of behaviour problems (Elementary School)</li> <li>2. Some domestic problems reported</li> <li>3. Early reports of problem behaviour at High School</li> <li>4. Satisfactory academic progress reported at High School</li> <li>5. Gradual deterioration of relationships with named teachers</li> </ol>   |
| PETER   | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Early interest in academic learning (Elementary School)</li> <li>2. Some domestic problems reported</li> <li>3. Early academic progress reported at High School</li> <li>4. Relationship problems with named teachers</li> </ol>   |

Figure (xiii) Summary of Disruptive Student Case Studies

## NOTES : CHAPTER NINE.

- (1) The rationale for this, and an accompanying discussion of the issues it raises, is contained in Chapter Seven.
- (2) The origination of these is accounted for in Chapter Eight, section ii, The Research Diary.
- (3) The data, and its subsequent analysis, emphasises the agency role of the disruptive student. Analytical procedures, therefore, have been selected in the light of Grahame & Jardine's comment that 'We had noted earlier in relation to the study of childrens' activities, namely the imposition of research perspectives that reconstruct childrens' practices as if they were orientated to the solution of adult concerns and problems'. See Grahame, P. and Jardine, D. (1990) 'Deviance, Resistance and Play : A Study of the Communicative Organization of Trouble in Class', Curriculum Enquiry, 20 (3), pp. 283-304. (p. 284).
- (4) Whilst noting the inclusion of some quantitative approaches in the analysis (notably in the Tables contained in the present Chapter). Concerning this, Barnes has noted that 'It (qualitative research) is an approach frequently perceived as distinct from that of quantitative research which emphasises the importance of statistics and objectivity, although the divisions between the two are somewhat fallacious'. See Barnes, C. (1992) 'Qualitative Research : valuable or irrelevant ?', Disability, Handicap and Society, 7 (2), pp. 115-124. (p.115).
- (5) Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) The Ecology of Human Development, Cambridge; Harvard University Press.
- (6) Apter, S. (1982) Troubled Children, Troubled Systems, New York; Pergamon.
- (7) Sheppard, B. (1988) Off-Site Pupils and Their Experiences of Schooling Centre Report No. 5. Post-16 Education Centre. London; Institute of Education.
- (8) Meighan, R. (1977) 'The pupil as client : the learners experience of schooling', Educational Review, 29, pp. 123-135.
- (9) In acknowledging the 'organismic' nature of the ecosystem, Pellegrini stated that it should be stressed that 'accurate analyses of children's behavior can be established only if we view children and contexts as interdependent'. See Pellegrini, A. (1991) Applied Child Study : A Developmental Approach, Erlbaum; Hillsdale. (p.35).
- (10) Ball, S. (1987) The Micro-Politics of the School, London; Methuen. p. 1.
- (11) Epstein, J. and McPartland, J. (1978) Quality of School Life : Administration and Technical Manual, Boston; Houghton Mifflin.
- (12) See Appendix G. Teacher comments are reviewed in Chapter Ten, section ii.
- (13) Raymond, J. (1987) 'An Educational Psychologist's Intervention with a Class of Disruptive Pupils Using Pupil Perceptions', Educational Psychology in Practice, July, pp. 16-22.
- (14) See Chapter Eight, section ii, The Research Diary.
- (15) This reflects the traditional hierarchy of school subjects. In this, special educational needs is regarded by many to be less important than formal academic subject-teaching. Barton (1988), for example, comments that special education 'has often been viewed as 'low-level work' or 'child-minding' '. See Barton, L. (Ed.) (1988) The Politics of Special Educational Needs, Lewes; Falmer. (p. 84).
- (16) In England, in particular, where the development of a hierarchy of schools as a result of the Education Reform Act (1988), may result in 'an educational underclass who will experience a qualitatively inferior form of educational provision' : see Barton, L. and Oliver, M. 'Special Needs : Personal Trouble or Public Issue', in Arnot, M. and Barton, L. Voicing Concerns, Wallingford; Triangle. (p. 79). In the case of the United States, Corcoran, Walker and White report that 'Urban teachers often do not have even the basic resources needed for teaching' : see Corcoran, T., Walker, L. and White, J. (1988) Working in Urban Schools, Washington, DC; I.E.L. (p. xiii).
- (17) 'Schools within the state system....are likely to face much greater problems in recruitment, training and turnover of staff', comments Strivens in Strivens, J. (1981) 'The Use of Behaviour Modification in Special education : A Critique', in Barton, L. and

Tomlinson, S. (Eds.) (1981) Special Education : Policy, Practices and Social Issues, London; Harper and Row. (p. 82).

(18) This therefore offers a contradictory interpretation to that of Finlayson and Loughran (1978). See Finlayson, D. and Loughran, J. (1978) 'Pupils' perceptions in high and low delinquency schools', Educational Research, 18 (2), pp. 138-145.

(19) For example, 'When I get a job I might think different about this learning, but not now' (RHS) and 'They say I sometimes work well.... I really want to do well' (RHS).

(20) Katznelson and Weir (1985) comment on this situation in the United States : 'schooling came early to a relatively permeable social structure and where school officials were able to create links between schooling and citizenship that the various social classes found congenial'. See Katznelson, I. and Weir, M. (1985) Schooling for All, New York; Basic Books. (p. 7).

(21) In the United States there has traditionally been an explicit link between employment and education. Thus, Guthrie and Pierce (1990) state that 'The United States....already had an encompassing education structure which encourages large proportions of the population to acquire post-secondary schooling', whereas 'Many students from working and middle-class families in Britain do not see education as a vehicle for improving their life opportunities'. See Guthrie, J. and Pierce, L. (1990) 'The International Economy and national education reform : a comparison of education reforms in the United States and Great Britain', Oxford Review of Education, 16 (2), pp. 179-205. (p. 191).

(22) Woods, P. (1979) The Divided School, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul.

(23) Ibid. p. 91.

(24) Raymond, J. (1987) (op.cit.).

(25) See Chapter Seven, section iv.

(26) This relationship has been comprehensively reviewed by Johnstone, M. and Munn, P. (1987) Discipline in Schools, Edinburgh; SCRE, and by Howell, F. and McBroom, L. (1982) 'Social relations at home and at school : An analysis of the correspondence principle', Sociology of Education, 55 (1), pp. 40-52.

(27) Notably in Chapter Six, section iii.

(28) From a comparative perspective, elements of this have been reviewed in Carrier, J. (1984) 'Comparative Special Education : Ideology, Differentiation and Allocation in England and the United States', in Barton, L. and Tomlinson, S. (Eds.) Special Education and Social Interests, Beckenham; Croom-Helm. (pp.35-64).

(29) See section ii (a) in the present Chapter.

(30) Woods, P. (1979) (op.cit.) notes that 'The principle of this strategy is exchange' (p. 153).

(31) And is central to the labelling process : see Chapter Six, section ii.

(32) See Levine, D. and Havighurst, R. (1989) Society and Education; Boston; Allyn and Bacon. (pp. 229ff.).

(33) See Chapter Seven, section i.

(34) Weiner, B., Frieze, I., Kukla, A., Reed, L., Rest, S. and Rosenbaum, R. (1971) 'Perceiving the causes of success and failure', in Jones, E. (Ed.) (1971) Attribution : Perceiving the causes of behavior, New York; General Learning Press.

(35) See Appendices B and C.

(36) Outlined in Dalin, P. (1989) 'Reconceptualising the School Improvement Process : Charting a Paradigm Shift', in Reynolds, D., Creemers, B., and Peters, T. (Eds.) School Effectiveness and Improvement, Cardiff; School of Education/RION. (pp.30-45).

(37) Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) (op.cit.).

(38) This issue has been examined in Chapter Seven, section ii. The stance adopted there may be further summarised by Allen-Meares (1985), who stated that 'the ecosystems perspective allows for a multi-dimensional view of life situations and of the relationships between children and important supra-systems within which they must function'. See Allen-Meares, P. (1985) 'Assessing behavior disorder in children : an eclectic approach', Social Work in Education, 7, pp. 100-113.

(39) Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) (op.cit.), p. 18.

(40) An overview and summary of this is presented by Blease, D. (1983) 'Teacher expectations and the Self Fulfilling Prophecy', Educational Studies, 19 (2).

(41) The remarks of teachers at both RHS and CVHS were noted in the

Research Diary by the researcher.

(42) This has been referred to in Chapter Five, section ii.

(43) See Chapter Eight, section ii.

(44) The use of the term 'career' in this context is adapted from West, D. (1982) Delinquency : its Roots, Careers and Prospects, London; Heinemann.

(45) The comments from teachers contained in all studentcase-studies are taken from (i) primary/elementary and secondary school records and (ii) informal comments from teachers at RHS and CVHS.

(46) Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) (op.cit.), p. 16.

(47) See Chapter Three.

## CHAPTER 10 : DISCUSSION.

### **Introduction.**

This Chapter comprises three sections relating to three main themes. These have been developed from an analysis of the data obtained in the case-study sites in England and the United States. A number of broader, over-arching issues would seem to underpin them. The first is that there appear to be some discontinuities between the beliefs of disruptive students and those of teachers, administrators and theoreticians. It will be argued that such differences represent the variation between macro-interpretations (represented by the 'official wisdom' as held by those who organise and maintain provision for disruptive students) and micro-interpretations (of the disruptive students themselves).

The suggestion will be made, therefore, that whilst the experiences of the disruptive students in each school appear to be broadly similar, on a microsystemic and mesosystemic level, the students view of their overall school experience differs from the normative interpretations of the teachers and other educational professionals in each country. The latter are indicative of macrosystemic theorising, which has been a significant factor in developing strategies for disruptive students in both England and the United States. One important aspect of this difference in interpretation is that the disruptive students in the study frequently appear to ascribe to educational values which are similar to those held by their teachers.

A second issue, suggested by the data collected in this study, is that some differences between the disruptive students' experiences in the two case-study sites do exist. Such differences, it may be argued, are as much about differences between individual schools within one area in one country, as about differences between the two countries in the study. Paradoxically, it is also accurate to suggest that, on the basis of the data obtained, there appear to be more similarities in the experiences of the two groups of disruptive students than there are differences.

Both issues raise important questions regarding the efficacy of generalising from case-studies. This has been a problematic concept in comparative research (1). Because of the difficulties posed by this, the Chapter is further underpinned by a consideration<sup>of</sup> the debate concerning the efficacy of using small scale case-study analysis of disruptive students to theorise about national approaches to the phenomenon.

Bearing these points in mind, the first section of the Chapter will discuss some of the problems involved in developing an argument which accounts for disruptive student experience based upon a micro- versus macro- model. It will demonstrate that theoretical approaches to the phenomenon of the disruptive student in schools in England and the United States have traditionally been based upon macro-interpretations. These have often emphasised the dominant ideologies of the educational culture, as manifest in policy-making. Thus deficit theory, subcultural interpretations, and resistance and control theories have all been used by macro-theorists at various points in both countries to account for disruptive students in schools (2). The suggestion, made in this section of the Chapter, is that such theories may be at variance with an individual reality which is based upon the views of disruptive students themselves.

The differential reality of the disruptive students and that of their teachers and will be discussed in greater detail in the second section of the Chapter. Here, the reality of the disruptive student, as indicated by their statements, will be shown to contrast sharply with what may be termed the rhetoric of the educational establishment, represented by the schools' organisation, which attempts to deal with the problems posed by such students. Again, the variance is substantially located in the micro- versus macro- paradigm, in the case-study sites in England and the United States.

The final section of the Chapter will explore some aspects of the debate concerning student advocacy. This will be done in the light of the fact that the microsystemic and mesosystemic comments of the disruptive students have provided an indication that their views concerning school are often closely aligned with what may be termed normative school values (3).

In this section it is argued that there is a tension between, on the one hand, the rights of individual students, and, on the other, the means by which such rights might be operationalised within the context of the school. The thrust of the argument is that, on the basis of the statements gathered from disruptive students in England and the United States, the 'gap' between the 'official' or dominant consensus and that of the students themselves is, in fact, relatively narrow. This, in turn, may be viewed as one factor which might promote the incorporation of disruptive student views into those aspects of school life which most concern them : their curriculum opportunities, their relationships with teachers, their ability to explore the reasons for their own actions, and their input into their school's organisation and ethos.



## **i. MACRO VERSUS MICRO INTERPRETATIONS.**

### **Overview.**

The research data has indicated the importance of 1:1 interactions between the disruptive students and their teachers in both research sites. Additionally, some evidence has been provided to support the view that, in the opinion of the students, a teacher's personality is the significant factor in this interaction. This, in turn, is linked by the student to the teaching and learning style which that teacher adopts. Both are elements of the microsystemic and mesosystemic experience of the disruptive students in the study.

Moreover there is an indication that there are some points of similarity between the personal realities of the disruptive students in the English and the North American school. In both cases the student reality is often presented in negative terms, but with a significant minority of comments to indicate that both sets of disruptive students sometimes see their school experiences as positive and rewarding. This interpretation contrasts with much macro-theorising.

Bail has suggested that the individual (i.e. the microsystem) is a much neglected concept in sociology (4). Although substantial progress has subsequently been made towards a balance between micro- and macro- analysis (5), existing research and the supporting literature indicate that this still remains a somewhat peripheral area of educational enquiry (6). Only relatively recently, in the period from about 1970 onwards, has the approach been utilised on a more widespread basis (7). In spite of this it is worth noting that many recent reports relating to disruptive students in both England and the United States have not sought to incorporate the views of the students themselves (8).

The importance of the teacher as a mediator between teaching material and the student's learning experience has, on the other hand, been frequently acknowledged in the literature (9). The disruptive students from England and the United States, who have formed the basis of this study, present essentially similar frameworks of response to the mediator (teacher). Their social strategies for dealing with classroom encounters are frequently proactive, whereby both sets of disruptive students appear to knowingly adopt a set of strategies. Lacey has theorised this as a continuum, from strategic compliance, through internal adjustment, to strategic redefinition (10). Hargreaves et.al., too, suggested a similar approach, adopting a three-stage model of deviant-student response (11), with an instrumentalist function incorporated within it.

Notwithstanding the interactionist approaches of these theorists, there has been a tendency to view disruptive students in somewhat fixed, descriptive terms. This tendency has been supported and strengthened by the incorporation of such descriptive categories in the literature (12), and by the increase in use of the term 'disruptive student' as one form of special education categorisation and provision.

The data obtained in the present study offers some potential for an ammended, yet supporting, paradigm. In this, the emphasis is placed upon the microsystem and mesosystem, which is indicated as being of key importance by the disruptive students in articulating their personal reality. The model also regards disruptive student experience of school in terms of a flexible personal reality, where both positive and negative views are expressed according to time, place and personal demeanour. In this sense, therefore, it represents a departure from the use made, in much of the literature concerning the phenomenon, of an over-arching macrosystemic model, which attempts to redefine student experience. This is summarised in Figure (xiv), below.

| LACEY PARADIGM          | HARGREAVES PARADIGM | RHS/CVHS PARADIGM | EXEMPLAR STATEMENT   |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--|
| Strategic               | Conformist          | Engagement        | I enjoy PE because its good and active (RHS)<br>The school should be strict when pupils bring an offensive weapon in (RHS)<br>A lot of teachers should be like Freidel...I think she cares a lot (CVHS)<br>There are some guys who always disrupt the class and stop me working (CVHS)   |
| Internalised Adjustment | Indifferent         | Avoidance         | There's no point in trying 'cos I'll never understand Maths (RHS)<br>It's like you're doing it because there's nothing else to do (RHS)<br>A lot of the time I know I'm going to goof off in I guess I'm not conscientious enough. I keep putting off putting papers in and that gets you a bad reputation (CVHS)<br><br>Losing their temper makes them look stupid because you just laugh and that makes them get worse (RHS)<br>Teachers who are crap, like Smillie, are them that get the the trouble (RHS) |
| Strategic Redefinition  | The opposition      | Confrontation     | He calls me by my second name. That made me mad because it's not respectful and he wouldn't like it (CVHS)<br>I just do stuff to annoy Silverino because I know he doesn't like guys like us (CVHS)  |

Figure xiv : Adapted model illustrating flexible reality of disruptive students

The model suggested incorporates a 'continuum of responses', which summarises the fluid nature of student views. The students at both RHS and CVHS continually redefine and adapt their views of school according to time, place and personal demeanour. Their reality, as indicated by their statements, is that 'survival' in school is a key element in their microsystemic and mesosystemic interactions, and that such interactions are essentially a fluid process. Thus, a student's responses to a given situation will vary according to place, time, individuals involved and their momentary personal demeanour. 'Engagement', 'avoidance' and 'confrontation' are therefore variables which change according to given microsystemic and mesosystemic encounters. In sum, the two sets of disruptive students

present a symbiotic strategy which is often more dependent upon the teacher as a mediator than upon any inherent like or dislike of a particular school subject or situation.

Such a symbiotic strategy recalls Ball's analysis (13). He suggested that students will (i) arrive at an interpretation of meanings held by the teacher and will then (ii) negotiate a mutually acceptable (re)definition of the situation. Similar student strategies have been noted by Woods (14) and Everhart (15), indicating that this sort of theorising can be illustrated in the context of both England and the United States.

The process of negotiation by the disruptive students in this study is very apparent, particularly so in the areas of curriculum and social behaviour. What is acceptable to one teacher, and to one disruptive student, in a given situation may have to be re-negotiated in another learning context. There are, in the student statements in this study, frequent examples of this fluidity within the process of negotiation by the disruptive students in their relationships with their teachers.

What is important in this approach is that such negotiation takes place at the student-teacher interface. Little acknowledgement appears to be made by the students, in both case-study sites, of the broader social, cultural and political ideologies and contexts which macro-theorists have regarded as an essential element in providing meaningful interpretations of the behaviours of disruptive students in schools. This contradiction will now be examined in each of the four areas of student experience considered in the research.

**(a) The Curriculum and it's Delivery.**

The tensions between the normative, macro interpretations of the disruptive student's curricular experience and the student reality based upon the statements gathered from them during this study can be considered from at least three viewpoints. Firstly, the over-arching curriculum ideology which informs much macro-theorising. This relates to the way in which curriculum provision for disruptive students, in both England and the United States, is predicated by ideological stances, wherein the vocational curriculum and the liberal curriculum may be regarded as competing models (16).

Secondly, the nature and content of curriculum provision for disruptive students is often based upon containment and a restricted choice of curriculum subjects (17). Finally, the possibility that, in engaging in classroom strategies and interactions which have personal meanings, the disruptive students in the study are significantly more aware and in control of what is happening to them. Each of these viewpoints will be considered in the following paragraphs.

Much theorising about control via the curriculum in schools in England and the United States is underpinned by a belief that a set of broad cultural, political and social beliefs inform the manner in which a school's curriculum is presented to its students (18). This is particularly the case with those students who are ascribed to either formal or informal special education (19). Thus Wolpe (20) argues that it should be  
taken as given that that which constitutes the curriculum  
comprises a knowledge base which itself is intricately  
tied in with class and power relations of the society. (21)

This summary owes a great deal to the macro-interpretations of theorists like Young (22), Bourdieu (23) and Bowles and Gintis (24), which links school and work in a theory of correspondence.

In curriculum work in the area of special educational needs per se of which the study of disruptive students may be said to constitute an important part, Davidson has provided a summary argument that  
views about curriculum are based on conflicting ideological  
viewpoints. Primarily they focus upon the function of  
schooling and the way in which schools will prepare the  
citizens of the future for the needs society will have. (25)

The differences between this interpretation, which is based upon a dominant 'gatekeeping' ideology by virtue of it having been made from a professional-interest standpoint (26), and that of the disruptive students in the present study is considerable. In the latter the evidence, demonstrated by the data, is that the English and North American disruptive students emphasise micro-interactions and seek to develop within these a modus operandi which will secure a position of personal esteem, respect, learning progress and autonomy via a fluid process of negotiation. Their references to macrosystemic considerations are somewhat diluted, and although they do acknowledge some broader social and cultural issues that appear relevant, these are infrequently noted.

This discontinuity is illustrated by one macro-theorist, Fulcher, who argues for an awareness of macro-issues in the micro-context of the school (27). Thus she regards a professional decodification as an essential element of curriculum development in special educational needs. As part of this process an argument is made for 'introducing politics into the curriculum' (28) and that this means 'teaching politics with a syllabus about power and how it is exercised in major institutions' (29). This viewpoint, it is suggested, is largely at odds with the reality of the disruptive students in the two case-study sites. This discrepancy will now be discussed.

In both England and the United States, a proportion of statements from disruptive students indicate some evidence of a desire to participate in the normative school-based curriculum.

There is a stated wish that, as both individuals and a discrete group, disruptive students should not receive a modified curriculum, although the style in which the content should be presented should be frequently amended. This reality differs substantially with the viewpoint, both implicit and explicit, in much macro-theorising.

In the latter there is a prevailing set of assumptions about the curriculum preferences and provision for disruptive students. Glynn (30) provides one example of such macro-interpretations of the type of curriculum which is desirable for disruptive students. In the one section which addresses curriculum issues he suggests that personal and social education are key elements within a curriculum for those students who cause behaviour problems. No reference is made to normative curriculum provision.

The same theme is amplified by Bowman (31), who reflects that 'a great expansion of curriculum innovation has been taking place in relation to personal and social education' (32). Much of the subsequent discussion is then given to issues of control rather than ownership of the curriculum. This type of analysis represents a disparity between the 'official wisdom' of curriculum gatekeepers and theorists and the views of the English and North American disruptive students in this study.

In a similar vein, Smith (33) states that

strong concerns were expressed to the Elton Enquiry that the introduction of the National Curriculum, with its prescribed programmes of study and established attainment targets stating what children should be expected to know and do at certain ages, might make school life more difficult for less able and low achieving pupils and thereby lead to disruption. (34)

Smith also suggests that a lack of relevance of many learning experiences, particularly for older students, may explain

a lack of cooperation from less able pupils who do not see the purpose or point for them of some parts of the curriculum. (35)

Whilst this is true to some extent, and is evidenced in some of the statements from both English and North American disruptive students, there is rather more evidence to suggest that the students in the present study are, in fact, capable of 'seeing the point', and in consequence are often inclined to see the school curriculum as instrumental to future goals. Their views, in this respect, are often positively stated.

Finally, it may be argued that macro-theoretical approaches to curriculum provision in England and the United States may represent as much a deficit interpretation of disruptive students in schools as did the within-child explanation of special educational needs which prevailed in England and in the United States in the period prior to the most recent special

education legislation in both countries, which provided an impetus integrated schools (36). In one sense, it might also be argued, the lack of recognition of the pro-activeness of disruptive students, represented in this study by their ability to negotiate learning scenarios and to articulate their views, may suggest that the 'medical model' is merely confirmed under another name by such theorising (37).

In summary, therefore, the disruptive student statements from both schools in this study suggest that the models proposed by some theoreticians may have become somewhat unwieldy and inflexible. This is particularly so in that they focus upon what Furlong has referred to as an 'external analysis of interaction' (38). This approach appears to miss one crucial dimension : that the participants have to build up their own strategies and respective parameters of conduct as the interaction progresses. The flexible approach, illustrated by the students' statements in this study, suggests a more effective, and realistic, means of analysis.

#### **(b) Personal and Professional Characteristics of Teachers.**

The personal and professional qualities of teachers provide one category of disruptive student statement where micro- and macro- models appear to have some overlap. This, in part, may be because of the influence of ethnographic approaches to classroom enquiry during the last twenty years (39). These micro-studies, it has been noted elsewhere, have enabled a series of macro-theories to be developed, especially in the context of student-teacher interaction (40). This has been equally evident in England and the United States (41). At the same time, however, it has also been noted, in Chapter Nine, that the disruptive students in the study have tended not to acknowledge the wider aspects of the professional culture of teachers, although the English students in the study have been more inclined to generalise from their experiences. The students were, for the main part, more concerned with their 1:1 interactions with specific teachers than with general observations about teachers and the teaching profession as a whole.

Partly because of this, there has been a frequent criticism that much of the theorising relating to student-teacher interactions that has taken place has failed to make explicit the links between micro and macro approaches in the study of those students whose behaviour in school is problematic (42). Moreover, it has also been argued that this has meant that research concerning student-teacher interactions has been of little value to policy makers (43).

Bearing these points in mind, this section of the Chapter will examine the macro versus micro debate from two standpoints. On the one hand, it will focus initially upon the importance of micro-theorising, and suggest that the disruptive students in the study express views which find parallels in existing research on student-teacher interaction. The second part of the section will suggest that, for disruptive students and their teachers, the use of micro-investigations based upon teacher characteristics offers more potential than macro theorising concerning the role of teachers *per se* in relation to disruptive students. This may, therefore, be signalled as potentially important in the professional development of teachers, most of whom work at some stage with disruptive students.

### The Disruptive Students' Statements and Micro Theory.

The overall picture presented by the statements gathered from the disruptive students in this study is one of a broad consensus with current thinking concerning a student's preferred teacher typology. Before examining such 'preferred teacher' characteristics, therefore, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of existing rationales.

Hargreaves, Hestor and Mellor suggested that teachers may be grouped as either deviance provocative or deviance insulative (44). This marks a basic concept which has underpinned much subsequent thinking concerning the personal and professional characteristics of teachers of 'problem' students (45). In this theorising, based upon ethnographic studies in schools and classrooms, the suggestion is that teachers arrive at a negotiated outcome with students and that this is based upon the concept of 'coping' (46). Studies relating to this have stressed the importance of an interactionist approach, whereby the students are as much involved in the process of arriving at a classroom consensus as are the teachers (47). An acknowledgement of this consensus for classroom practice is equally apparent in both England and the United States, as Everhart implies :

Because of the oppositional forms that are borne out  
of the contradictions of reified and regenerative  
knowledge, teachers and students seem to strike a muted,  
negotiated order in which teachers often "know" that  
the ultimate objective of teaching, as far as the  
organization and administration of the school are  
concerned, is to get along with students. (48)

The existence of this negotiated order in American schools is further supported by Cusick (49) and by Sedlak, Wheeler, Pullan and Cusick (50).

What is implicit in both the English and North American literature is that the (disruptive) students are actively engaged in the process of arriving at some form of working arrangement or consensus, and that this process, and its product, vary according to time,

place and the personal demeanour of the participants. The present study has indicated that a crucial aspect of their negotiation strategy would appear to be the responses of the disruptive students to the personal and professional characteristics of their teachers. Moreover, the disruptive students from the two schools do not always provide support for Waller's assumption (51) that there is a basic conflict of interest between students and teachers. On the contrary, the present study implies that there is often an agreement between disruptive students and their teachers on what constitutes a 'good' teacher.

The disruptive students at both RHS and CVHS provide evidence in their statements that they are inclined to formulate a clearly structured teacher typology or profile. This is largely in sympathy with this theoretical overview. Moreover, the typologies developed from the two case-study sites are broadly similar. Thus, an analysis of the case-study data from England and the United States suggests that those teacher-characteristics which the students imply to be most important in enabling the negotiation of successful classroom encounters are : technique, disposition, control and fairness.

The process of negotiation, exemplified by the disruptive students in both research sites, is essentially micro-theoretical. But there remains some evidence that the influence of a broader set of social and cultural values are recognised, and that these can be used to theorise a bridge between the micro- and macro- approaches. Hargreaves (52) has indicated a continuum of constraints on teacher-student coping. He has referred to a distinction between institutional and societal constraints. The former he regards as belonging to both school and classroom. Pollard (53) on the other hand refers directly to 'classroom social structure' : this, for him, is where the institutional impact on (disruptive) students is most felt.

The theoretical argument here is perhaps of less consequence than the reality. Inasmuch as teachers are products of society (54) the continuum between the micro and the macro is at least implicit. But for the disruptive students in the two schools in this study it appears at times to be of more explicit substance. Thus, the students may refer to a particular teacher by name, but the teacher-characteristics referred to by the student (either positive or negative) are frequently qualified by reference to another teacher, group of teachers or teachers in general. In this sense the disruptive student reality, in relation to the views they express concerning their teachers, may perhaps be theorised as rather more 'ecosystemic' (or inclusive of macro- references) than other aspects of their school experience.

The tension between micro and macro theories of classroom interaction may therefore be partly in terms of the emphasis given in the latter approach to the ideologies which underpin the professional culture of teachers. These, it will be argued in the second part of this



section, adopt an approach which constructs a reality in which the disruptive student is, at best, a recipient of the cultural construction of (and by) the teacher and of the ways in which this is applied in the classroom.

### **Micro-theoretical Approaches and Teacher Development.**

Macro approaches to theorising the role of teachers in urban settings have tended to focus upon the ideological basis for teaching in such schools particularly in connection with special educational needs. Thus Wilson and Pring (55) argued that

To ask what it is to educate these children - possibly disruptive, uninterested or openly hostile - or what makes educational sense out of their school experience is very often to challenge received assumptions about education. (56)

Subsumed within this is the understanding that educational practice in urban schools, which may have a relatively high proportion of disruptive students, needs to address such exosystemic and macrosystemic issues as social control, hegemony and professional ideology (57).

To some extent the argument has an element of circularity. On the one hand, macro-theoreticians espousing a liberal interpretation of the teacher/disruptive student interaction would argue that inadequate socialisation results in an inability to negotiate. The alternative, traditionalist perspective is that the inappropriate behaviour of disruptive students is a product of a within-student or individual pathology (58). The teacher of disruptive students may, by responding to the questions that such conflicting ideologies imply, understand the impact of cultural influences on the professional ideology which he or she subscribes to. But, at the same time, the macro-theoretical model, irrespective of orientation, seems to offer little that is of practical value in working with disruptive students in urban school environments.

This discussion has already pointed to the valuable contributions to understanding classroom processes that have been made in both England and the United States. The suggestion has been made that such approaches have been mainly micro-theoretical. This may provide considerable scope for professional development of those teachers who work with students who are disruptive : this will form the basis of section iii of this Chapter.

(c) The Views of Students Concerning Their Disruptive Behaviour.

A range of macro-theories have been postulated as explanations of disruptive behaviour by some students in schools. These have been reviewed in the context of the total ecosystem in Chapter Four. Within the ecosystem, five broad groups of macro-theorising can be outlined : cultural transmission, control theory, strain theory, subcultural theory and labelling theory (59). Additionally, some macro-theoreticians have attempted to synthesise two or more of these theories. Examples from both England and the United States can be drawn from the literature to support such macro-analytical approaches (60).

What is apparent, however, is that such interpretations are essentially 'input' models, where the disruptive student tends to be seen as the recipient of a range of social and cultural influences. The focus is therefore upon the structure of the educational organisation, in which the agency of the disruptive student is seen to have a minor role. Only in the last 10 to 15 years has small-scale ethnographic work begun to investigate the interactive nature of disruptive behaviour (61). These studies have helped to establish a bridge between micro- and macro-interpretations, and they will be considered in this section in relation to the students' statements concerning their own disruptive behaviour.

Whilst the statements made by the disruptive students in the two schools in this study lend support to an interactionist viewpoint concerning their beliefs about the four aspects of their schooling under consideration, they are particularly illuminating in regarding their views of their disruptive behaviour. The data suggests that Hargreaves's proposition, that four potential 'types' of student can be identified, may be supported in each case-study site : this has been illustrated in Figure xiv, page 253 (62). Although Hargreaves has made the point that the four groups - conformists, instrumentalists, the indifferent and the opposition - are not analytically distinct (63), it has been argued that a tendency has developed for practitioners to see them as fixed descriptors of students (rather than indicative of the strategies they adopt) (64).

The present study, however, has provided some evidence to support a view that the disruptive student's response is more flexible than hitherto suggested by some theorists. Thus, there are examples of student engagement which is instrumental in meeting certain student goals, whilst at other times confrontation is apparent (65). In such instances the strategies employed by the disruptive student is both flexible and interactive. It is also highly proactive. Whilst macro-theory has been developed from similar small-scale studies (66), it is argued that their importance may be to enable micro and macro to be linked in a more meaningful way, as part of an ecosystemic explanation for the phenomenon of disruptive students in schools.

From the student statements concerning behaviour at both RHS and CVHS, many of which originate from their microsystemic and mesosystemic experience, it is possible to show some further links between micro and macro interpretations. It has already been suggested that the students in the study provide some evidence of ENGAGEMENT, AVOIDANCE or CONFRONTATION strategies, and that these are dependent upon time, place and personal demeanour (67). In other words, the application of the interactionist model depends upon the student's social construction of reality (68). The suggestion again appears to be that this analysis should be very fluid, and, as such, is very closely linked with the ecosystemic paradigm outlined elsewhere in the study (69).

Moreover, the teacher's perception of disruptive students seems to be linked with some of the causal issues theorised for both countries in Chapter Five. There, an ecology of causes was presented. Whilst the 1981 Education Act in England and PL 94-142 in United States signalled a move away from an individual pathology and deficit ideology (70), it is apparent from some of the student statements obtained from RHS and CVHS that the disruptive students in those schools still maintained a belief that they were an important cause of their own inappropriate behaviour.

At the same time, the ecology of causes has been extended in this study, so that some reference to the importance of classroom interactions at a mesosystemic level has been included. Woods in England and Everhart in the United States have both offered interpretations of student processes within schools and classrooms (71). From their work it is possible to infer the shift from an individual case-study approach to its incorporation in a macro-theoretical understanding of problem students. Everhart, for example, neatly draws together the strands of an argument which links macro with micro to provide an ecosystemic model:

We need to see opposition to school authority....as a curriculum in and of itself. By this I mean that we must consider it as part and parcel of the nature of student and teacher labor in schools, and as a point of leverage to better understand the relationship between schooling and the state. (72)

Everhart's 'curriculum in itself' suggests an approach which is incorporative (i.e. ecosystemic) in its use of both micro- as well as macro- interpretations of the phenomenon. These, he suggests, will assist in a development of an understanding of 'the nature of labor and the labor process in the workplace' so that 'we may ultimately alter the social relations of production' (73).

The approaches outlined above, therefore, appear to be a more compatible way of theorising the position of disruptive students in schools in England and the United States than theories which focus primarily upon macro-interpretations of such students (74). In

particular, they suggest that the view that disruptive students are inclined to react in particular ways to given situations is an approach to understanding the problem which is hierarchical in its stance. By the inclusion of a student dimension this balance may be redressed, whilst at the same time not impairing an ability to generate theory which is appropriate to a given case-study site.

The final part of this section considers the fourth area of disruptive student experience, ethos and organisation of the schools. This is potentially that aspect of their experience which may be theorised as being rather more sensitive to macro issues than to micro issues. In common with the previous critiques, however, it will be suggested that this may be a somewhat simplistic interpretation of the reality as perceived by the students.

#### **(d) School Ethos and Organisation.**

A substantial amount of the recent English and North American literature on disruptive students has focussed upon school effect (75). The implications of the macro-theorising that have developed from this may be summarised as follows : that the behaviour of all students in schools is affected in certain ways and to varying degrees by what goes on inside the school, and that a recognition of this fact allows teachers and educational administrators to develop appropriate strategies to deal with the problem behaviours which might be encountered (76).

One difficulty with the 'school ethos and organisation' rationale for disruptive behaviour is that it has applied what are substantively macro-theoretical considerations, like sub-cultural theory, and sought to relate these to certain groups within individual schools (or classrooms) (77). In doing so the students' viewpoints have become subsumed into macro-theory, making them potentially less useful as a means of developing effective responses within the specific school location in which they take place (78).

The data provided in Chapter Eight, and analysed in Chapter Nine, offered some evidence to suggest that both individual strategies by teachers and the organisational procedures of the school as a whole (i.e. microsystem and mesosystem) were considered to be important by the disruptive students in both the English and the United States' case-study. But the students placed less emphasis upon the broader social, cultural and educational factors which, it has been theorised, impact upon schools (79) and which influence them to operate specific systems to deal with disruptive students.

Thus, although Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore and Ouston stated that 'the differences between the schools were systematically related to their characteristics as social institutions' (80), the present research suggests that the students in both the English and the North American school conceptualise their 'social institution' as mainly ones which they formulate as a result of individual interactions or processes, rather than in terms of group processes or structural factors (81). If this is the case, then there may be implications for the way in which schools is organised. It would appear to emphasise individual relationships, the ability to direct learning towards personal ends and the need to provide some basis in school organisation whereby these can be facilitated.

A final point, developing this micro-theoretical stance, is that the disruptive students in the study saw 'school ethos' as being related to a range of broader factors. They indicated that such things as school size, intake characteristics and age of buildings as being important. In both schools, however, the students related such 'broad' factors in comparative terms, acknowledging them as inter-institutional (ie. mesosystemic) rather than extra-institutional (i.e macrosystemic).

### **Summary**

This section of the Chapter has indicated a number of points of tension and overlap between micro and macro theorising. On the one hand, it has been suggested that macro-theory has frequently been divorced from the reality of individual disruptive students in England and the United States, as demonstrated by their statements in this study. On the other, some indication has been presented that, where overlaps do exist, there is a danger of generalising towards the macro, so that the opinions of the disruptive student cease to be viewed as a 'reality' in their own right. This, in turn, would appear to have consequences for teachers and policy makers who are involved in working with disruptive students in particular situations. These will be explored in the final section of this Chapter.

Prior to that, however, the differences between the views of the disruptive students in this study, which have been presented as their 'reality', and those of their teachers, represented by the 'rhetoric' of provision in the two schools, will be examined. This provides an additional critique of the micro-macro interface : whilst the disruptive students experience a microsystemic reality, the actual provision for such students within school systems appears to be informed by a macrosystemic rhetoric.

## ii. RHETORIC VERSUS REALITY.

### Overview.

Appendices B and C provide information concerning some of the structural ways in which both RHS and CVHS have attempted to address the issue of disruptive students. This section of the discussion uses these as a background to a commentary upon the systems and procedures within each school. The suggestion will be made that the ways in which schools attempt to deal with the difficulties presented by disruptive students appear to present an alternative reality which is largely based upon normative rhetoric.

The section will also argue that the way in which the schools deal with the problems posed by disruptive students replicates a bureaucratic model, which may be theorised as supporting professional practice via institutional rhetoric (82). Such practices are frequently based upon pragmatism ('for the good of all') rather than personal democracy. Thus, both schools provide evidence that, in spite of a stated belief in individual democracy, they tend to act as institutionalised mediators for cultural norms. In relation to disruptive students a structural element of this cultural response is control via authority systems (83).

Most schools in England and the United States have both formal and informal organisations and procedures to deal with the problems posed by disruptive students. Both are substantially underpinned by issues relating to discipline and control (84). Control over all students in schools is imposed by various means. One understanding of the nature of this control is that it is effected via both school systems and procedures and by the ideologies of the the dominant participants. In this respect, therefore, the schools in the study may be shown to have accepted cultural norms relating to problem behaviour in all schools, and to have adopted bureaucratic procedures which reflect such norms.

At the same time, previous references to the manner in which both groups of disruptive students offer verbal compliance or allegiance to these control systems should be acknowledged. This marks a fundamental difference with earlier studies. As Weis (85) notes, there is 'a danger that Willis's description in 1977 becomes 'the' culture of working class boys' (86). The inference is that culture is dynamic and ever-changing. In this instance, the suggestion is that the 'culture' of the disruptive student, in both England and the United States, is best represented by a fluid set of responses by the students. This is in sharp contrast to the frequent intransigence of the bureaucratic processes designed to deal with them.

This section of the Chapter will discuss these concepts in two ways, so that the tension between personal reality and structural rhetoric may be illustrated. In the first place it will consider the formal processes, within each school's organisational structure, which endeavour to respond to the challenge posed by disruptive students. These arrangements highlight several discontinuities between the experiences of the disruptive students and those which are explicitly stated in school policy. Secondly, the microsystemic and mesosystemic contrasts in the reality of disruptive students and the teachers will be considered. This will be done by using the set of statements obtained from the teachers at the two case-study sites and abstracted from the research diary (87). The teachers comments are provided in full in Appendix G.

Both approaches provide the opportunity to demonstrate that the reality of the students is somewhat removed from the aim of the educational provision for them in the two schools, which is underpinned by rhetoric.

**(a) Disruptive Students and Formal School Organisation**

The disruptive students from RHS and CVHS have indicated in their statements that they are both critical, and at times supportive, of school organisation and procedures. Both RHS and CVHS have formalised systems for dealing with those students who are identified as disruptive. Both are examples of bureaucratic procedure, as outlined by Weber (88).

In each case the way in which the school is organised represents an authority system. In the two schools, the disruptive students are controlled by a set of procedures which claim a student-centred orientation. There is a stated belief, for example, that the English school should 'discriminate positively in favour of disadvantaged groups' (RHS) whilst the United States' school argues that it provides 'enhanced educational opportunities for those students who are the victims of social and economic disadvantage' (CVHS) (89). In both instances, a mismatch can be identified between the student reality, as demonstrated by their statements, and the official view. Further examples of what may be viewed as institutional rhetoric may be illustrated by reference to Appendices B and C. A number of theoretical concepts relating to this discrepancy will now be considered.

In both England and the United States there is historical evidence to suggest that school systems function primarily on the basis of controlling structures. This is effected within curriculum structures, teacher-student interactions and formal school processes. The importance of discipline in each of these has traditionally been acknowledged (90).

Previous studies have also demonstrated that opposition to authority, and the concomitant need for 'discipline', is deeply embedded within the cultural formation of many education systems (91). In these there is a rejection of normative values : of hard work, rule adherence, mental labour and hierarchical patriarchy (92).

What appears to happen in the two schools in the present study is that (i) resistance to authority is often covert, and it is frequently disguised as compliance to school rules and the individual wishes of teachers and that (ii) in both cases it appears to be difficult to separate resistance from conformity. Many of the comments of the disruptive students relating to the student strategies outlined above support the suggestion that such strategies are a response to what the students regard as rules and organisational structures which do very little to contribute to a meaningful school experience for them.

In both England and the United States the position of disruptive students in schools may be seen to represent two conflicting ideologies of schooling. Traditionally the education systems of both countries have regarded students who cause trouble in schools to be deviant, in that their actions run counter to the existing beliefs concerning the purpose and process of education (93). What appears to be apparent, within this interpretation, is that concerns about such students tend to be highlighted against a wider set of national issues, both social and economic. This is apparent in both England and the United States (94). From a traditionalist point of view, disruptive students are seen as having 'illnesses' which need to be 'treated' by punishment (95).

Moreover, such a deficit orientation may be extended in both cases to those environments, usually disadvantaged and urban, which produce disruptive students (96). Thus, the individual case-studies of disruptive students contain several references to economic and social disadvantage (97). Such conditions, it has been argued, may be important factors in influencing the response of teachers towards disruptive students and the school-behaviours of the disruptive students themselves (98). In this sense, the traditionalist view links micro-behaviour with macro-structure, at least in terms of causality (99).

At the same time, an alternative view, held by many theorists in both countries, is the belief that the micro-behaviour / macro-structure relationship is maintained in an oppositional form. Here, disruptive students are regarded as products and indicators of social inequality (100). The argument, therefore, is that education reinforces inequality by virtue of the vast differences in opportunity, underpinned by resources, offered to students from disadvantaged groups. This view has been apparent in England (101) and the United States (102).



But the data obtained from the disruptive students in the present study has also suggested that the stance of such students is by no means located wholly in oppositional terms to the normative culture of the school. Inasmuch as schools may be said to replicate society, the two case-study schools in this study may, to a degree, be representative, although this is a point which has not been argued in this study. But it has already been implied that, whilst the oppositional nature of the disruptive students in this study forms an important subject in their statements, they are often sympathetic to a broad set of school ideologies, as represented by the formal school processes, and to specific teacher strategies which may be the product of these. This, in turn, suggests that the students in the study represent a symbiotic view of their school experiences, subconsciously adopting for themselves a mediating role between the ideological demands of society and the school procedures which are proscribed by them.

The views of the teachers from the two case-study schools may be said to be one structural representation of such ideological demands. These views are now considered, so that the discrepancies between their interpretations and those of the disruptive students may further highlight the gap which appears to exist between reality and rhetoric.

#### **(b) Disruptive Students and the Informal Views of Teachers.**

Interpretations of the role of teachers in mainstream schools in England and the United States have frequently focussed upon the ways in which, as a professional group, they have mediated between school-students and the educational goals of society (103). Studies of this nature may be grouped according to whether they are structural studies or teacher-as-agent studies (104). The former have provided interpretations of the professional ideology of teachers in the context of given state structures, as in the context of a whole school, whilst the latter have established, usually by ethnographic inquiry, the individual(ised) actions of teachers in classrooms.

There is a developing body of literature to suggest that the 'official' views of teachers, as represented by the ability of schools to act as instruments of reproduction, do not always correspond to their personal beliefs (105). Keddie (106), for example, explored the classroom context of teachers, and distinguished between that and what she referred to as the educationist context, where theoretical policy issues formed the basis of their interactions with other educational professionals. The former, it may be argued, represents the teacher-as-agent. Here the teacher is acting in a personalised capacity, where such personal issues as 'survival' (107) and 'coping' (108) are at least implicitly acknowledged.

It is in this arena, referred to by Woods as the 'opportunity to teach' (109), that the informal views of teachers can best be examined.

In both schools in this study there is evidence that the teachers of the disruptive students also present conflicting views regarding the task of teaching disruptive students. One potential model, which illustrates this conflict, may be provided by adapting Pollard (110) and Woods (111) to produce a set of teacher concerns. These are :

Teacher Creativity and Curriculum.

The Teachers' Role.

Teaching and Survival.

Teachers and School Ethos.

These concerns conform broadly to the four categories of disruptive student statements in the case-study schools. The remarks obtained from the teachers at RHS and CVHS, and discussed in Chapter Nine, Section iv, help to illustrate the wide range of teacher responses to disruptive students in each of these four categories. This variation, like that of the disruptive students that they teach, appears to relate to the microsystemic issues of space, time and personal demeanour (112) and to a number of mesosystemic factors which concern the organisation and ethos of the schools (113).

But it may also be accurate to suggest that teachers, and particularly those who work with disruptive students in the urban areas of England and the United States, encounter two conflicting sets of issues which may have helped to influence the differential nature of their response to the students. These concern exosystemic and macrosystemic factors. They will now be briefly outlined.

In the first place, the role of teachers of disruptive students has traditionally been marginalised within special education provision in England and the United States (114), in spite of an apparent increase in professional status as a result of special education legislation (115). Whilst it is accurate to point to the ideological identification of such teachers as indicative of the control function of professionals (116), a number of structural factors have underpinned this continued marginalisation. These include restricted career opportunities (117), the pressures of teaching in stressful situations caused by social disadvantage (118), increased societal expectations (119) and the cumulative effect of a reduction in funding for education (120).

An alternative set of positive structural factors may also be operative. The role of teachers working with disruptive students has tended to become more central in educational planning as a result of special education legislation at both national and regional level (121),

and this has been reflected in the increased status of such teachers in many schools. Moreover, in spite of the negative factors outlined in the previous paragraph (and which have always been present, to some extent, in special education), there has tended to be the maintenance of a professional ethos, focussed upon child-centred teaching and a commitment to equality, amongst those who work with disruptive students (122).

Both sets of factors outlined above, it is argued, may contribute towards the differential response of teachers towards disruptive students in secondary schools, especially when combined with micro factors concerning teacher personality and style and the organisational arrangements within the schools. The situation currently obtaining in many schools in England and the United States, of which RHS and CVHS are examples, is that the reality for disruptive students is somewhat removed from that seen from the professional stance of the teachers and rather closer to the classroom context in which those teachers operate. The interface between these contrasting realities is marked by the rhetoric of those professional procedures which are explicitly designed to meet disruptive student need but which implicitly function as agents of control.

The argument being developed is therefore that, as with the disruptive students in this study, teacher responses to particular situations involving disruptive students are often variable along a positive-negative continuum. There appear to be few fixed points in the transactions between the two groups. This flexibility may enable some progress to be made in articulating and supporting initiatives which might incorporate disruptive students in the organisational procedures of the school. This will be discussed in the concluding section of this Chapter.

### **Summary.**

In this section of the Chapter it has been argued that the school procedures and strategies adopted to deal with disruptive students frequently function at a level of organisational rhetoric. This is apparent in both England and the United States. There is, it is suggested, a disjunction between 'official' views concerning disruptive students (as manifest by both regional and local policy and by the institutional procedures of the two case-study schools) and the views held by both the students themselves and the teachers. The latter express a range of views which appear to incorporate ideologies which are based upon 'professional' or 'classroom' contexts : these are frequently conflicting.

At the same time, however, the data gathered suggests that an area of middle ground can be cultivated, where professional policy and personal opinion can be seen to be at least similar. This overlap provides one opportunity for progress to be made in understanding the dynamic nature of the school process, based upon space, time and the individual personality of those most closely involved. The suggestion is that this may be used as a pointer for future developments in work with disruptive students, whereby the views of such students may be incorporated into some aspects of school organisation. This will be the subject of the concluding section of the Chapter.

### **iii. STUDENT ADVOCACY : USING THE VIEWS OF DISRUPTIVE STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS.**

There has been an increasing interest in the use of the views of students concerning various aspects of secondary schooling, particularly in the United States (123). But it is apparent, from the existing literature, that there are relatively few indications that the views of disruptive students form a significant part of this movement (124). Whilst this may appear to be understandable from the viewpoint of the classroom teacher and the educational administrator (125), the present study has provided some evidence that disruptive students, in both England and the United States, hold views concerning their school-lives which are frequently positive. Certainly their views are by no means totally oppositional to the school experience (126). The suggestion, to be made at the conclusion of this discussion, is that an incorporation of such views may offer one platform for professional and institutional development. The final section of this Chapter will explore this in relation to advocacy by, and on behalf of, disruptive students.

The concept of student advocacy, it may be argued, further illustrates the tensions which are apparent in the ecosystem as a whole, and between micro- and macro-interpretations when considering disruptive students in schools. One important underpinning theme is the notion of equality, which has been apparent in the debate concerning special education in both England and the United States.

Issues relating to equality have certainly provided an important ideological strand for special education legislation from the mid-1970's onwards (127). This has been debated against a background of professional concern by teachers as to whether schools are able to incorporate equal-opportunity principles within their organisational structures (128). Both

themes are predicated by the more recent movement, in England and the United States, to make schools more effective.

Before a consideration of these issues, as they relate to disruptive students in England and the United States, a brief context for the subsequent argument for disruptive student advocacy will be presented. This comprises a summary of some recent developments in England and the United States concerning the involvement of disruptive students in the organisational procedures of secondary schools.

Evidence that both researchers and practitioners began to respond to the need to take account of the opinions of disruptive students in matters relating to the organisation of schools has become noticeable throughout the 1980's, especially in the United States. There, Stallworth et.al. (129) and Murtaugh & Zeitlin (130) provide indicative examples of this development, which represents a shift in thinking from traditional approaches (131).

In particular, these and other researchers have begun to suggest that disruptive student opinion should be incorporated into the disciplinary strategies of schools, as a contribution to the drive for effective schools (132). The latter has tended to be viewed in managerial terms (133), which, Stevenson pointed out, has traditionally regarded disruptive students as detrimental to the quality of classroom life (134). He has argued, conversely, for the more widespread use of a 'collective resource model' (135), which involves the development and enforcement of rules and procedures through a process of negotiation between student and teacher (136). More specifically, Stevenson has suggested that disruptive students can, in fact, promote order in schools by helping to clarify classroom goals and the rules which govern them (137).

A further recent development in the United States is 'Reaching Success Through Involvement' (RSI) (138). In this the teachers and both formal and informal student leaders (139) form action teams to identify problems in the school's disciplinary procedures. Furtwengler (140) reported that some schools showed dramatic improvements in levels of acceptable behaviour amongst hitherto disruptive students. Furthermore, he suggested that this process has led to the development of a greater sense of shared responsibility between teachers and disruptive students (141).

In England, disruptive students have only been incorporated into secondary school decision-making procedures in isolated cases, and there remains little evidence of these in the literature (142). Undoubtedly local examples do exist, and there has been a developing body of theorists who have advocated increased involvement by disruptive students in school organisation (143).

But disruptive student involvement in school organisation still remains a tenuous concept in both countries. The conditions which prevailed in both RHS and CVHS, where disruptive students considered themselves to be largely uninvolved in the mesosystemic processes which govern their own education, are indicative of the macrosystemic factors which inform the conceptual model, wherein personal reality and public rhetoric assume oppositional positions. Yet both viewpoints include important issues of equality.

The concept of equality has been regarded as a central issue in special education in England and the United States (144). The disruptive students in this study form part of an informal category of special education : they remain within mainstream provision, and are not formally categorised under existing special education legislation. As such the equality issues relating to their position are predicated by a number of discourses. Commentaries on the ideological aspects of these, in both England and the United States, have been provided elsewhere (145). At this stage of the discussion the focus will be placed on the period from 1980 onwards because it is during that time that the political situation in both countries provided an unusual opportunity to compare the equality issue in the light of a number of national educational innovations which affected disruptive students in schools.

A number of important parallels have existed in education between England and the United States during the period 1980-1990. In both countries the rhetoric of right wing political thinking marked a shift in educational strategy (146). In England, this was signalled by a movement away from education as a means of establishing social justice (147) to its role in economic development via vocational opportunity (148). The education system was seen by the Conservative government during that time to have contributed to an overdependence on the welfare state. The Conservative Party sought to counter this by re-stating the value of self-reliance and political and economic freedom (149).

This ideology may be illustrated by reference to the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) (150). This legislated for, amongst other things, a national curriculum and for local management of schools. Both measures had potentially serious consequences for the position of disruptive students in mainstream schools, and made equality of access to educational resources more problematic for them.

In the first instance the National Curriculum legislation requires that all students to follow courses of study in 'core' and 'foundation' subjects. The content of such courses is determined centrally, and with an emphasis upon traditional academic subject areas (151). At the same time, a programme of assessment was introduced, in which students would be measured by tests at specific points in their secondary schooling (152). The results of such

tests would be published. The potential effect of these two aspects of the National Curriculum is that they might further alienate disruptive students by a continued focus on what the students might regard as 'useless knowledge', and by denying them access to normative schooling as the schools come to regard their presence as detrimental to the level of published test scores (153).

Secondly, equality issues for disruptive students may become further undermined as the effects of Local Management of Schools (LMS) become more apparent. In particular, the concept of open enrolment, which gives parents the right to select a school for their son/daughter, brings with it certain resource implications which impact particularly upon the special education community within schools (154). The supposition is that schools which are well-regarded will attract more students (and resources) and poorly perceived schools will lose students (and resources). As disruptive students tend to be concentrated in certain geographic areas, notably disadvantaged urban locations the net result of this process may mean their inability to gain access to well-resourced education (155).

In the United States a similar, though far less comprehensive, process was apparent during the 1980's (156). Early in that period an ad hoc policy panel, the National Commission on Educational Excellence (NCEE) issued a report entitled 'A Nation at Risk' (157). This provoked considerable discussion on educational reform, much of which was supportive of the ideologies of the right-wing Reagan administration (158). Amongst the measures to be debated were an increase in secondary school graduation requirements, a reduction in the number of elective course and more rigorous testing of student performance (159).

Such discussions were often prejudicial to the position of disruptive students in schools, as the debate moved away from equality and towards excellence (160). As in England, one focus of this was upon increasing student attainment in traditional subject areas using traditional teaching methods, thereby risking the alienation of students to whom such school-subjects were irrelevant (161). Moreover, the quest for excellence suggested that this was not to be measured in terms of the individual, but rather in competitive terms, as the United States, like England, sought to make its education system serve the country's economic needs (162).

The net result of these processes in both countries has been a diminution of opportunities for disruptive students to participate in the educational procedures of the school. As macro influences, which support traditional values based upon competition and excellence, have become ascendant there has, it is suggested, been a corresponding return to values based upon an ideological ethos which reproduces compliant, normative students. Disruptive student reality in both England and the United States, as represented in this study, conflicts

with this approach. Moreover, it has been noted that the positive views frequently expressed by disruptive students concerning their school experience could be used as one means of promoting advocacy. That this situation does not develop is perhaps indicative of the reluctance of educational professionals and others to incorporate the views of such students during a political climate of reaction to equality-based education.

## **Conclusion**

This discussion has focussed upon the apparent discrepancies and continuities between the views of disruptive students, as represented in this study, and those of their teachers. The suggestion has been made that a 'reality gap', which exists between these two groups, in both England and the United States, has its basis in a micro versus macro paradigm. In this the dominant, rhetorical view of educational professionals which has its basis in a control ideology, is seen to contribute to a lack of advocacy for the disruptive students. Its absence, it is argued, is one example of the continuing rhetoric of special education. Finally, an acknowledgement is made that, as the study has indicated a number of areas where disruptive student opinion is at least similar to the views held by their teachers, there may remain considerable scope to incorporate the views of such students more closely in the school decisions which most affect them.



## NOTES : CHAPTER TEN.

- (1) Which is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven, section i.
- (2) Lane (1990) provides a synopsis of these. See Lane, D. (1990) The Impossible Child, Stoke-on-Trent; Trentham. pp. 11-21.
- (3) In the sense that such 'values' are shared by the whole school community and enshrined in its rules and procedures. One term which is used to describe such a normative stance is 'ethos'.
- (4) Ball, S. (1981) 'The sociology of education in developing countries', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 2, pp. 301-313.
- (5) This has been discussed in Chapter Seven, section i.
- (6) Atkinson, P., Delamont, S. and Hammersley, M. (1988) 'Qualitative research traditions', Review of Educational Research, 58 (2), pp.231-250.
- (7) Ibid. p.111.
- (8) For example, the Elton Report in England and 'A Nation At-Risk' report in the United States. See Department of Education and Science (1989) Discipline in Schools (The Elton Report), London; HMSO, and National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983) A Nation At-Risk : The imperative for educational reform, Washington, DC; U.S. Government Printing Office.
- (9) In the field of special education, for example, Weber, K. (1979) The Teacher is the Key, Milton Keynes; Open University Press.
- (10) Lacey, C. (1979) Choice and Constraint and the Possibility of Autonomous Behaviour, in Barton, L. and Meighan, R. (Eds.) Schools, Pupils and Deviance, Driffield; Nafferton Books. pp. 167-179.
- (11) Hargreaves, D. (1975) Deviance in Classrooms, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- (12) Meighan, R. (1977) therefore advises that the views of disruptive students should not be seen as wholly negative : 'They are able to offer a wide range of constructive and, mostly, feasible alternatives See Meighan, R. (1977) 'The pupil as client : the learners experience of schooling', Educational Review, 29, pp. 123-135. (p.124).
- (13) Ball, S. (1981) Beachside Comprehensive, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.
- (14) Woods, P. (1979) The Divided School, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (15) Everhart, R. (1983) Reading, Writing and Resistance : Adolescence and Labor in a Junior High School, Boston; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (16) One illustration of this tension in special education may be drawn from two competing articles : Dyson, A (1985) 'A curriculum for the Educated Man', British Journal of Special Education, 12 (3), pp. Galletley, I. (1985) 'Vocationalism Must Come First', British Journal of Special Education, 12 (4), pp. 140-141.
- (17) Bird, C. (1984) 'The disaffected pupil : a suitable case for treatment', in Lloyd-Smith, M. (Ed.) (1984) Disrupted Schooling, London; John Murray. pp. 15-27.
- (18) 'Education provides numerous examples of the inextricably political and moral nature of its practices. Amongst the most contentious is the debate about curriculum : what is to count as valued knowledge?'. See Fulcher, G. (1989) Disabling Policies, Lewes; Falmer. (p.262).
- (19) Lynch, C. (1989) The Hidden Curriculum : Reproduction in Education, A Reappraisal, Basingstoke; Falmer. pp. 1-35.
- (20) Wolpe, A. (1988) 'Experience as Analytical Framework : Does it Account for Girls' Education ?', in Cole, M. (1988) Bowles and Gintis Revisited, Lewes, Falmer.
- (21) Ibid. p.152.
- (22) Young, M. (Ed.) (1971) Knowledge and Control, London; Collier- Macmillan.
- (23) Bourdieu, P. (1971) 'Systems of Education and Systems of Thought', in Young, M. (op.cit.).
- (24) Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1976) Schooling in Capitalist America, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (25) Davidson, B. (1990) 'The Curriculum : Some Issues for Debate', in Barton, L. (Ed.) The Politics of Special Educational Needs, Lewes, Falmer. (p.172).
- (26) In special education this is discussed at some length in Tomlinson, S.

- (1982) A Sociology of Special Education, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (27) Fulcher, (op.cit.), p.54.
- (28) Ibid. p. 278.
- (29) Ibid. p. 278.
- (30) Glynn, T. (1992) 'Discipline - for the whole school', in Wheldall, K. (Ed.) (1992) Discipline in Schools : Psychological Perspectives on the Elton Report, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- (31) Bowman, I. (1990) 'Curriculum Support and the Continuum of Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties', in Varma, V. and Evans, P. (Eds.) Special Education : Past, Present and Future, Basingstoke; Falmer.
- (32) Ibid. p.199.
- (33) Smith, C. (1992) 'Keeping them clever : preventing learning difficulties from becoming behavioural problems', in Wheldall, K. (1992), (op.cit.).
- (34) Ibid. p.30.
- (35) Ibid. p.31.
- (36) In that the role of disruptive students as agents within the structure of normative curricular provision is frequently marginalised. Thus, Davidson (1990) presents a methodological critique for curriculum intervention, but it is based upon the importance of the role of legislators and teachers rather than incorporating the views of the students themselves. See Davidson, B. (1990) (op.cit.), pp. 171-172.
- (37) Indicating a wholly 'within-student' interpretation for student underachievement.
- (38) Furlong, V. (1984) 'Interaction sets in the classroom : towards a study of pupil knowledge', in Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. (Eds.), (op.cit.), p. 147.
- (39) See Atkinson, P., Delamont, S. and Hammersley, M. (op.cit.), p.231.
- (40) See Chapter Seven, section i.
- (41) Crossley, M. and Vulliamy, G. (1984) 'Case Study Research Methods and Comparative Education', Comparative Education, 20 (2), pp. 193-207.
- (42) In making such links, Stenhouse has argued that 'Research-based teaching shifts the balance of power towards the student for it concedes the importance of the right of the learner to speculate, to learn anonymously, to criticise and correct'. See Stenhouse, L. (1985) Research as a Basis for Teaching, London, Heinemann. p.120-1.
- (44) Hargreaves, D., Hestor, S. and Mellor, F. (1975) Deviance in Classrooms, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- (45) See, for example, Tattum, D. (1989) 'Violent, Aggressive and Disruptive Behaviour', in Jones, N. (Ed.) (1989) Special Educational Needs Review, Volume 1, London; Falmer. pp. 143-146.
- (46) As originally defined by Woods, P. (1979) (op.cit), pp. 140-169.
- (47) Ibid. pp. 153-154. This provides one example of a negotiated outcome.
- (48) Everhart, R. (1983) (op.cit.), p. 219.
- (49) Cusick, P. (1983) The Egalitarian Ideal and the American High School, New York; Longman.
- (50) Sedlak, M., Wheeler, C., Pullan, D. and Cusick, P. (1986) Selling students short, New York; Teachers College Press.
- (51) Waller, W. (1965) The Sociology of Teaching, New York; Wiley. p.265.
- (52) Hargreaves, A. (1978) 'The Significance of Classroom Coping Strategies', in Barton, L. and Meighan, R. (Eds.) (1978) Sociological Interpretations of Schooling and Classrooms : a Re-appraisal, Driffield; Nafferton Books. p.89.
- (53) Pollard, A. (1982) 'A model of coping strategies', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 3, pp. 19-37.
- (54) See, for example, the interpretations of this concept by Lawn and Ozga (1981) in Lawn, M. and Ozga, J. (1981) 'The Educational Worker ? A Re-assessment of Teachers', in Barton, L. and Walker, S. (1981) (Eds.) Schools, Teachers and Teaching, Lewes; Falmer. pp. 45-64.
- (55) Wilson, P. and Pring, R. (1975) 'In Conclusion', London Educational Review, 4 (2).
- (56) Ibid. p.53.

- (57) The existence of which in special education is indicated by Fulcher (op.cit.), pp. 274-278.
- (58) Tomlinson, S. (op.cit.) outlines this traditional explanation of the position of the student who has a special educational need. Her interpretation may be applied to both England and the United States. (pp. 10-11).
- (59) Lane, D. (1990) (op.cit.) offers a review of theories of causation (pp. 11-21). The broad categories which he indicates, whilst not exclusive, provide one illustration of the potential discrepancies between micro- and macro-theory.
- (60) See Wolpe, A. (1985) 'Schools, discipline and Social Control', in Barton, L. and Walker, S. (Eds.) (1985) Education and Social Change, Beckenham; Croom-Helm. pp. 152-171. (p. 170); Newcomer, P. (1980) Understanding and Teaching Emotionally Disturbed Children, Boston; Allyn and Bacon. (p. 58).
- (61) See Woods, P. (1979) (op.cit.) in England and Everhart, R. (1983) (op.cit.) in the United States for two examples of interactive approaches with disruptive students.
- (62) Whilst noting the problems inherent in such categorisations, which may result in a rigid analytical framework which this study has sought to avoid.
- (63) Hargreaves, D. (1979) 'Durkheim, Deviance and Education', in Barton, L. & Meighan, R. (1979) (op.cit.), p. 21.
- (64) See Chapter Five.
- (65) The individual case-studies of disruptive students provide many examples of this. Chris Thornton (Case Study 1) appears to use conflict with other students as a means of establishing his presence in the classroom : he makes no attempt to be covert in this practice, so that the teacher is aware that (s)he is being tested.
- (66) Two exemplar studies have previously been noted. In England : Willis, P. (1977) Learning to Labour, Farnborough; Saxon House. In the United States, Whyte, W. Street Corner Society, Chicago; University of Chicago Press.
- (67) See Chapter Five, section v.
- (68) Harre, R. (1986) 'The step to social constructionism', in Richards, M. and Light, P. (1986) Children of Social Worlds, London; Polity Press.
- (69) See Chapter Five, section v.
- (70) In a legislative sense. In other respects, the traditional problems associated with special education categorisation have tended to remain. Carrier (1989), commenting upon this, suggests that 'The assessment of children is not, and probably can not be, objective and neutral. Instead, it is a social process involving a panopoly of unspoken assumptions, covert cues and responses that are common in normal life'. See Carrier, J. (1989) 'Sociological Perspectives on Special Education', New Education, 11 (1), pp. 21-31. (p.25).
- (71) Woods, P. (1979) (op.cit.) and Everhart, R. (1983) (op.cit.).
- (72) Everhart, R. (1987) 'Understanding Student Disruption and Classroom Control', Harvard Educational Review, 57 (1), p. 83).
- (73) Ibid. p.83.
- (74) Ibid. p.78. Everhart suggests that the 'social-ecological perspective' which is provided by looking at schools themselves provides a bridge between macro and micro theorising.
- (75) Aspects of this are reviewed in Chapter Six, section iii.
- (76) As Rutter and his colleagues pointed out, 'we found that.... variations in outcome were systematically and strongly associated with the characteristics of schools as social institutions'. See Rutter, M., Maughan, B., Mortimore, P. and Ouston, J. (1979) Fifteen Thousand Hours : secondary schools and their effects on children, London; Open Books.
- (77) This type of analysis has often been undertaken for explicitly student-centred reasons. Thus, Tomlinson (1982) states that 'Special education must be understood as a social process, set within a social and political context if the special needs of children are to be truly served'. See Tomlinson, S. (1982) A Sociology of Special Education, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul. (p. 182).
- (78) The argument, therefore, is that as much theorising concerning disruptive students is attempted on a macro-level, there is a possibility that such approaches might detract from action within individual schools.

- (79) Examples of the influence of these factors on schools in England and the United States are provided by Guthrie, J. and Pierce, L. (1990) 'The International Economy and national educational reform : a comparison of educational reforms in the United States and Great Britain', Oxford Review of Education, 16 (2), pp. 179-205.
- (80) Rutter, et.al. (op.cit.), p. 178.
- (81) The individual reality of the disruptive student, represented by his statements concerning aspects of his school experience, represents that student's social construction of what is happening. The view that such opinions should be valued in their own right, has often been challenged. Sharp and Green (1975), for example, suggest that 'simply to dwell on the surface features of consciousness, as the phenomenologist seems to advocate, may mask the extent to which such consciousness may conceal and distort the undelying structure of relationships'. See Sharp, R. and Green, A. (1975) Education and Social Control : A Study in Progressive Primary Education, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul. (p. 22).
- (82) Both professional practice and institutional rhetoric may be subsumed in what Carrier (1989) refers to as a contractualist ideology. See Carrier, J. (1989) (op. cit.), p.22.
- (83) See Tattum, D. (1985) 'Disruptive Pupil Behaviour : A Sociological Analysis', Maladjustment and Therapeutic Education, 3 (2), pp. 12-18.
- (84) In the United States, the courts have played an increasingly important part in this process. Thus, Sacken (1989) comments that 'the special need for controlling an environment where large numbers of immature individuals must individually and collectively attend to "task" has long persuaded the courts that educators must be permitted broad discretionary authority in deciding what conduct is disruptive to the school'. See Sacken, D. (1989) 'Due Process and Democracy', Urban Education, 23 (4), pp. 323-347. (p. 338). In England, discipline and control has not, hitherto, been the subject of such judicial intervention.
- (85) Weis, R. (1983) 'Schooling and cultural production : a comparison of black and white lived experience', in Apple, M. & Weis, L. (Eds.) (1983) Ideology and Practice in Schooling, Philadelphia; Temple University Press,
- (86) Ibid. p. 137.
- (87) See Chapter Eight, section ii.
- (88) Weber, M. (1947) The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation, New York; Free Press.
- (89) See Appendices B and C.
- (90) The focus upon discipline, in both England and the United States, has been to 'secure the orderly atmosphere necessary in schools for effective teaching and learning to take place'. See Atkinson, R. in Jones, N. (Ed.) (1989) School Management and Pupil Behaviour, Lewes; Falmer. (p. ix).
- (91) See Wolpe, A. (1985) (op. cit.)
- (92) See MacDonald, P. (1988) 'Historical School Reform and the Correspondence Principle', in Cole, M. (1988) Bowles and Gintis Revisited, Basingstoke; Falmer.
- (93) An early example of this conflict of interest between students and teachers is outlined in Waller, W. (1932) (op.cit.). Pollard (1979) states that 'Teacher and pupil confront each other with an original conflict of desires. The teacher represents the adult group, ever the enemy of the spontaneous life of groups of children'. See Pollard, A. (1979) 'Negotiating Deviance and 'Getting Done' in Primary School Classrooms', in Barton, L. and Meighan, R. (Eds.) Schools, Pupils and Deviance, Driffield; Nafferton Books. (p. 75)
- (94) Tomlinson (1984) states that 'in Western technological societies, adequate achievements in normal education are becoming more crucial to gaining any sort of employment' (p. 1). In relation to students receiving special education, of which disruptive students form part, it may be argued that Castells' interpretation that such employment is indicative of a 'bifurcated labour market, with the upgrading of a minority of workers and a rapid growth of professional sectors, while a majority of workers are deskilled and reduced to low-paying jobs' (p. 21). See Tomlinson, S. (1984) in Tomlinson, S. and Barton, L. (Eds.) (1984) Special Education and Social Interests, Beckenham; Croom-Helm, and Castells, M. (Ed.) (1985) High technology, space and society, Beverly Hills; Sage.
- (95) The development of this view is documented in England by Tomlinson (1981) and in the United States by Newcomer (1980). See Tomlinson, S. (1981) 'The Social

- Construction of the ESN(M) Child', in Barton, L. and Tomlinson, S. (Eds.) (1981) Special education : Policy, Practices and Social Issues, London; Harper and Row (pp. 194-211); Newcomer, P.
- (1980) (op.cit.), pp. 24-33.
- (96) See Chapter Three.
- (97) See Chapter Eight, section iii (e) and Appendix G.
- (98) Corcoran, Walker and White (1988) comment that, because of social and economic disadvantage in many urban schools, 'Urban teachers struggle to deal with the cultures and problems of their students, with limited success.....lack of support on discipline problems and a widening gulf between the social backgrounds and values of teachers and urban students create enormous difficulties'. See Corcoran, T., Walker, L. and White J. (1988) Working in Urban Schools Washington, DC; I.E.A. (p. xiii).
- (99) This type of linkage supports the view, articulated in Chapter Seven, that ecosystems should be investigated by flexible research methods. One part of this flexibility is to provide opportunities for macro- theorising from micro-studies.
- (100) Thus, Levine and Havighurst (1989) comment that 'One of the most serious problems confronting many schools in concentrated poverty neighbourhoods is the tendency for violence in the community to affect teaching and learning conditions in the schools....it is difficult if not impossible to prevent problems in the community from impinging on the schools'. See Levine, D. and Havighurst, R. (1989) Society and Education, Boston; Allyn and Bacon. (p. 281).
- (101) Sammons, P., Kysel, F. and Mortimore, P. (1982) Educational Priority Indices, a New Perspective, London; Inner London Education Authority.
- (102) Fine, M. (1986) 'Why Urban Adolescents Drop into and out of Public High School', Teachers' College Record, 87 (3), pp. 393-409. (103) Woods, P. (1979) (op.cit.), pp. 51-59. (England); Cicourel, A. and Kitsuse, J. (1963) The Educational Decision Makers, New York; Bobbs-Merrill.
- (104) Shilling, C. (1992) 'Reconceptualising Structure and Agency in the Sociology of Education : structuration theory and schooling', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 13 (1), pp. 69-87.
- (105) See, for example, Woods, P. (1990) Teacher Skills and Strategies, Basingstoke, Falmer. pp.121-144.
- (106) Keddie, N. (1971) 'Classroom Knowledge', in Young, M. (Ed.) Knowledge and Control, London; Collier-Macmillan.
- (107) Woods, P. (1979) (op.cit.), pp. 140-169.
- (108) Pollard, A. (1982) 'A Model of Classroom Coping Strategies', in British Journal of Sociology of Education, 3 (1), pp. 19-37.
- (109) Woods, P. (1990) (op. cit.), pp. 1-27.
- (110) Pollard, A. (1982) (op.cit.).
- (111) Woods, P. (1990) (op.cit.).
- (112) In that, as this study has argued, disruptive students should be conceptualised in these terms : see Chapter Five, section v.
- (113) As has been argued in Chapter Four, section ii b. Mongon and Hart (1989) point out in this respect that 'The general climate of a school, created by the methods adopted for maintaining control, has been shown to have a major impact upon pupil behaviour'. See Mongon, D. and Hart, S. (1989) Improving Classroom Behaviour : New Directions for Teachers and Pupils, London; Cassell. (p. 78).
- (114) Corcoran, Walker and White (1988) point out that 'Urban teachers are not rewarded extrinsically for the difficult work they do....teachers receive little recognition for, or appreciation of, their efforts. See Corcoran, T., Walker, L. and White, J. (1988) (op. cit.) (p. xiv).
- (115) Legislation, in both England and the United States, has had the effect of formalising procedures in special education. The bureaucracy associated with this has resulted in the professional status of special educators being enhanced. For a comment on the professionalisation of special educational needs, see Bart, D. (1984) 'The Differential Diagnosis of Special Education : Managing Social Social Pathology as Individual Disability', in Barton, L. and Tomlinson, S. (Eds.) (op. cit.), pp. 81-121.
- (116) See Bart, D. (1984) (op. cit.), pp. 86-88.

- (117) Cole, M. (1984) 'Teaching Till Two Thousand : Teachers' Consciousness in Times of Crisis', in Barton, L. and Walker, S. (Eds.) (1984) Social Crisis and Educational Research, Beckenham; Croo-Helm. pp. 48-74.
- (118) For a comparative view, see Poppleton, P., Deas, R., Pullin, R. and Thompson, D. (1987) 'The Experience of Teaching in 'Disadvantaged' Areas in the United Kingdom and the USA', Comparative Education, 23 (3), pp. 303-315.
- (119) Times Educational Supplement (1990) 'Morale is heavily dented by political interference'. Times Educational Supplement, 21.9.90.
- (120) An illustration of this is 'Nation's teachers grade morale low', a headline in the Seattle Times, 2.9.90.
- (121) Both the National Curriculum (England) and the Regular Education Initiative (United States) have stressed the curricular integration of students who have special educational needs. Partly as a result of this the status of special education teachers has been enhanced. See Biott, C. (1991) Semi-Detached Teachers : Building Support and Advisory Relationships in Classrooms, Basingstoke; Falmer. (pp. 27- 42);
- (122) Malone, G. (1991) Special needs forever!, Support for Learning, 6 (1), p.15.
- (123) See Chapter Six, section iv.
- (124) As Schostak (1983) has commented 'In general, research has not tended to focus upon the experiences of the young'. See Schostak, J. (1983) Maladjusted Schooling, Lewes; Falmer. (p. 5).
- (125) This may be, in part, because 'Traditional studies of classroom control tend to view deviant students as detrimental to the quality of classroom instruction'. See Stevenson, D. (1991) 'Deviant Students as a Collective Resource in Classroom Control', Sociology of Education, 64, pp. 127-133. (p. 127).
- (126) As indicated in Chapter Eight, section iii.
- (127) Warnock (1991) provides an overview of equality issues in special education. See Warnock, M. (1991) 'Equality Fifteen Years On', Oxford Review of Education, 17 (2), pp. 145-153.
- (128) This debate is exemplified in Nelson, C., Rutherford., Center, D. and Walker, H. (1991) 'Do Public Schools Have an Obligation to Serve Troubled Children and Youth ?', Exceptional Children, March/April. pp. 406-415.
- (129) Stallworth, W., Frechtling, J. & Frankel, S. (1983) 'In-School Suspension : A Pilot Program', ERS Spectrum, 1 (1), Spring.
- (130) Murtaugh, M. & Zeitlin, A. (1989) 'How serious is the motivation problem in secondary education ?', High School Journal, LXXII, February/March.
- (131) These have tended to seek explanations for disruptive behaviour from factors within the student. The shift in thinking, therefore, is one 'from a medical to an educational model'. See Apter, S. (1983) Troubled Children / Troubled Systems, New York; Pergamon. (p. ix).
- (132) Furtwengler (1990) comments that 'using...student-teacher involvement appears to alter the school's culture....and thereby increases the discipline effectiveness in schools'. See Furtwengler, W. (1990) 'Improving School Discipline Through Student-Teacher Involvement', in Moles, O. (Ed.) (1990) Student Discipline Strategies, New York; State University of New York. (p. 98).
- (133) Stevenson, D. (1991) (op.cit.), p. 127-128.
- (134) Ibid. p. 128.
- (135) Ibid. p. 128-129.
- (136) Ibid. This is illustrated in Stevensons case-study example.
- (137) Ibid. p. 128.
- (138) Furtwengler, W. (1990) (op.cit.).
- (139) Formal student leaders are those which are recognised by the school management as conforming to the goals and expectations of the school. Informal student leaders are those recognised by the students : these may include disruptive students. (140) Furtwengler, W. (1990) (op.cit.), pp. 90-94.
- (141) Ibid. p. 92.
- (142) See Chapter Six.

- (143) MacBeath, J. and Thomson, B. 'The threefold path to enlightenment', Times Educational Supplement, 5.6.92.
- (144) Recent literature relating to special education has indicated the importance of equality in both countries. See Warnock, M. (1991) 'Equality Fifteen Years On', Oxford Review of Education, 17 (2), pp. 145-153; Skrtic, T. (1991) 'The Special Education Paradox : Equity as the way to Excellence', Harvard Educational Review, 61 (2), pp. 148-206.
- (145) See Chapter Two, section iv.
- (146) Guthrie, J. and Pierce, L. (1990) 'The International Economy and national educational reform : a comparison of educational reforms in the United States and Great Britain', Oxford Review of Education, 16 (2), pp. 179-205.
- (147) Barton, L. and Oliver, M. (1992) 'Special Needs : personal trouble or public issue ?', in Arnot, M. and Barton, L. (1992) Voicing Concerns : sociological perspectives on contemporary education reforms, Wallingford; Triangle. pp. 66-87. (p. 81)
- (148) Guthrie, J. and Pierce, L. (1990) (op.cit.), p. 191.
- (149) Ibid. p. 192.
- (150) Department of Education and Science (1988) The Education Reform Act London; HMSO.
- (151) Ibid. p. 3.
- (152) Ibid. p. 3.
- (153) The National Curriculum focusses upon traditional, academic subjects. Disruptive students are frequently amongst those students who express dissatisfaction with this. Aspects of this are discussed in Bash, L. and Coulby, D. (1989) The Education Reform Act, London; Cassell. pp. 57-69.
- (154) Barton, L. and Oliver, M. (1992) (op. cit.), p. 79.
- (155) Ibid. p. 79. Barton and Oliver state that such students 'will increasingly constitute an educational underclass who will experience a qualitatively inferior form of educational provision and opportunity'.
- (156) Guthrie, J. and Pierce, L. (1990) (op. cit.), p. 196.
- (157) National Commission on Educational Excellence (1983) A Nation At-Risk : the imperative for educational reform, Washington D.C.; U.S. Government Printing Office.
- (158) Baker, K. (1985) 'Research Evidence of a School Discipline Problem', Phi Delta Kappan, 66 (7), pp. 482-488.
- (159) National Commission on Educational Excellence (1983) (op.cit.)
- (160) Skrtic, T. (1991) (op. cit.). Skrtic argues that 'the excellence movement, which was shaped by the thinking in 'A Nation at Risk' (1983) and generally seeks excellence through means which are quantitative and top-down' (p. 205).
- (161) Ibid. 'The proponents of this approach (excellence movement) do not question traditional school organization' (p. 205).
- (162) Clark, D. and Astuto, T. (1990) 'The disjunction of federal educational policy and national educational needs in the 1990's', in Mitchell, D. and Goertz, M. (Ed.) (1990) Education Politics for the New Century, Basingstoke; Falmer. pp. 11-25. (p. 13).

## CHAPTER ELEVEN : CONCLUSION

This Chapter provides a synopsis of the main findings of the study, with particular emphasis on the cross-cultural similarities and differences highlighted by the data.

Two main themes appear to underpin the results of this investigation. The first is that the disruptive students in both research locations frequently provide negative statements about their experiences in school. However, a significant minority of statements, made by both sets of students, are positive about each of the four areas of school experience under consideration.

The second theme is that such experiences, whether positive or negative, are inclined to be expressed in terms of the students' microsystemic and mesosystemic encounters. Little acknowledgement is made by them of more macro- issues, relating to the way that schools are organised or to cultural, social or ideological factors.

Given these two themes, it has been possible to identify in the statements obtained a number of similarities and differences between the views of disruptive students at Ribbleside High School and Clearwater Valley High School. These will now be summarised.

Several differences have been noted between the two groups of students. At the North American school, the students were inclined to make statements which identified particular events or teachers when explaining their disruptive behaviours. Similarly, in curricular terms, the students at Clearwater Valley High School provided evidence that their focus remained on individual teachers or events. Contrary to this, the disruptive students at the English school tended to generalise about their teachers and their lessons.

The disruptive students at Ribbleside High School suggested, in their statements, that they were somewhat more overtly resistant to the process of schooling. This may be linked to the negative views, expressed by them, concerning their future. In contrast, students at Clearwater Valley High School tended to be more hopeful about their future prospects once they had left compulsory schooling.

However, it is accurate to suggest that the similarities between the experiences of the two groups of disruptive students are greater than the differences. The two main themes, which have been highlighted in earlier paragraphs, are key points of equivalence, which are



apparent in each of the four areas of school experience which have been investigated. A number of similarities within these can be identified. These will now be outlined.

In the first instance, both sets of disruptive students imply in their statements that the personality and the professional demeanour of their teachers is of more importance to them than their like or dislike of a particular school subject. Moreover, both sets of students highlight similar sets of teacher-characteristics to substantiate their views,

The disruptive students in the two schools also provide evidence that they are able to re-negotiate existing school rules and procedures. In doing this they re-emphasise the role of particular, named, teachers, rather than specific school regulations which enable or inhibit such activities. Some evidence is provided of an ambivalence, on the part of both groups of disruptive students, of the need for 'rules' and 'strictness'.

Disruptive students at both case-study sites also show a number of similarities in the way in which they interpret their own disruptive behaviours. Both groups show a degree of willingness to accept responsibility for their own actions, although it is noteworthy that their explanations usually tend to refer to a small group of named teachers. Very little reference is made to their disruptive peers.

Finally, considering the statements made by the disruptive students as a whole, it appears that the views expressed by both the English and North American students are sometimes similar to the informal comments made by their teachers in each of the four areas of school experience investigated in this study. In this respect, an important area for future research and professional development may be the gap which appears to exist between the private views of students (and their teachers) and the rhetoric of school organisation. An exploration of this may enable some developments to subsequently take place which successfully incorporate disruptive student opinion into school management procedures.

## **APPENDIX A(i) : CONTEXTUAL EVENTS (NATIONAL AND REGIONAL) : ENGLAND.**

- 1975 : Publication of Lowenstein's 'Violent and Disruptive Behaviour in Schools' for National Association of Schoolmasters. This report indicative of professional concerns then being expressed about the phenomenon.
- 1976 : Bowland LEA publishes 'Problem Pupils in Our Schools'.
- 1978 : Warnock Committee established.  
Publication of 'Behavioural Units : a survey of special units for pupils with behavioural problems' (H.M. Inspectorate).  
Establishment of 4 special units by Bowland LEA.
- 1979 : Election of Conservative Government.
- 1981 : Education Act (Children with Special Educational Needs).
- 1982 : Bowland LEA funds 8 teachers to work within mainstream schools with 'disruptive pupils'.
- 1983 : Establishment of on-site unit for 'disruptive pupils' at RHS.
- 1987 : Report by HMI indicates 'no widespread discipline problems in schools'.  
Bowland LEA indicate intention to monitor and evaluate all provision for 'disruptive pupils'.  
DES establishes an 'Enquiry into Discipline in Schools' under Lord Elton.
- 1988 : Education Reform Act; this includes specific regulations relating to local financial management of schools and a common 'national' curriculum.
- 1989 : The Elton Report published.  
HMI publish report on provision for children with behavioural difficulties.
- 1990 : Bowland LEA establish a 'Review Panel' to report on the effectiveness of provision in the County for 'disruptive pupils'.

## **APPENDIX A(ii) : CONTEXTUAL EVENTS (NATIONAL AND REGIONAL) : USA.**

- 1974 : Clearwater Valley High School founded ; Faculty Discipline Committee established at CVHS.
- 1975 : Violent Schools - Safe Schools study published (NIE). Public Law 94-142 legislation.
- 1979 : Reagan elected President of USA. Conservative majority on State legislature, Lincoln State.
- 1981 : Lincoln State formally includes a clause excluding 'socially maladjusted' students from PL 94-142.
- 1982 : Draft of CVHS School Discipline Policy presented for approval.  
Inauguration of the school's Resource Room (for ISS : In School Suspension).
- 1983 : Publication of 'A Nation at Risk'.  
NEA Nationwide Teacher Opinion Poll : reports student misbehaviour either great (15%) or moderate (30%).
- 1984 : Lincoln State responds to 'A Nation at Risk'.
- 1985 : Rainier School District's Task Force on Dropouts initiated.  
Statewide Committee on 'educational quality'.
- 1988 : Review of Task Force on Dropouts by Rainier School District.
- 1989 : American Federation of Teachers report an increase in school violence.

## APPENDIX B(i) SCHOOL ORGANISATION (RHS).

### (i) Curriculum Structure :

Faculty of Humanities : RE(1), History(3), Geography(3), Environmental Studies(1), Languages(4)     12 Teaching Staff

Faculty of Design : Art(2), Ceramics(1), Woodwork(1), Metalwork(1), Technical Drawing & Motor Vehicle Studies(1), Home Economics(2)     8 Teaching Staff

Faculty of Sciences : Biology(1), Chemistry(1), Physics(1), General Science(2), Mathematics(4), Computer Studies(1)     10 Teaching Staff

Faculty of Expressive Arts : Music(1), English(4), Special Needs(1), Physical Education (2), Drama (1)     9 Teaching Staff

(Each Faculty comprises a Faculty Head and a Deputy Faculty Head; Academic affairs are responsibility of a Deputy Head Teacher)

### (ii) Pastoral Structure :

Year One : Head of Year, Deputy Head of Year, four form tutors.

Year Two : Head of Year, Deputy Head of Year, four form tutors.

Year Three : Head of Year, Deputy Head of Year, four form tutors.

Year Four : Head of Year, Deputy Head of Year, three form tutors

Year Five : Head of Year, Deputy Head of Year, three form tutors

(Pastoral affairs are the responsibility of a Deputy Head Teacher)

## **APPENDIX B (ii) : TEACHING STAFF AT RIBBLESIDE HIGH SCHOOL**

Head : Mr Farmer

Deputy Head (Curriculum) : Mr Cullingford

Deputy Head (Pastoral) : Mrs Anderson

### Faculty of Humanities

#### Religious Education

Mr Longhurst

#### History

Mr Garvey  
Mr Raybould  
Mr Fraser

#### Geography

Mr Smillie  
Ms Rains  
Mr Penny

#### Languages

Mr Smith  
Mrs Jones  
Mrs Worrall  
Mr Peplow  
Mme Selle

#### Env. Studies

Mrs Riley

### Faculty of Design

#### Art & Ceramics

Mrs Porter  
Mr McGraw

#### Woodwork

Mr Talbot

#### Metalwork

Mr Gibbins

#### Home Economics

Ms Mayhew  
Mrs Belshaw

#### MVS

Mr Swallow

### Faculty of Sciences

#### Biology

Ms Hendrie

#### Chemistry

Mr Chapman

#### Physics

Mr Taylor

#### Gen. Science

Mrs Fields

#### Maths

Mrs Chalmers  
Mr Dimmock  
Mr Jenkins  
Mrs Hall

#### IT

Mr Cooper

### Faculty of Expressive Arts

#### Music

Ms Dellow

#### English

Mr Bennion  
Mrs Jenkins  
Mrs Measures  
Mr Dillon

#### Drama

Ms Coomber

#### Physical Ed.

Mr England  
Ms Sadler

#### SEN

Mrs Eden

## **APPENDIX B(iii) : SCHOOL AIMS (RHS).**

1. To maintain and develop a centre for educational, social and recreational programmes for the whole community, based upon an atmosphere of mutual respect and support, free from discrimination on grounds of race, sex, class, age or disability.
2. To improve the quality of life of all those associated with the school by ensuring that each individual has opportunities to develop in the following curricular areas : aesthetic & creative, ethical, linguistic, mathematical. physical. scientific, social and political and spiritual.
3. To help students to acquire knowledge, skills, attitudes and practical abilities enabling them to understand and cope with their current needs and prepare them for their future lives by making informed, responsible and realistic decisions and to also develop flexibility in attitude and abilities to cope with change.
4. To discriminate positively in favour of disadvantaged groups in the school and the community.

## **APPENDIX B(iv) : RIBBLESIDE HIGH SCHOOL: CODE OF CONDUCT.**

Our aim at Ribbleside is to help all students to develop a responsible attitude to self-control and self-discipline. It is vital that teachers and pupils act as a team. In order to do this we have agreed the following guidelines concerning pupil-behaviour in our school.

### **SECTION 1 : Basic Offences**

- (a) Pupils must arrive at school before 8.40.
- (b) Pupils must arrive at their lessons on time.
- (c) Pupils must arrive at their lessons with pens, books and any other relevant equipment.
- (d) Homework must be done to the best of their ability and completed on time.
- (e) Pupils must wear school uniform, as described by their Year Head.
- (f) Hats must not be worn in school.
- (g) Pupils should not run or shout in the corridors, and should walk on the left.
- (h) Pupils must not smoke or bring cigarettes or matches into school.
- (i) Pupils must not bring personal stereos, radios etc. into school.
- (j) Pupils must not gamble anywhere within the school.
- (k) Finally, pupils should treat each other with respect.

## SECTION 2 : Serious Offences.

- (a) Refusing to comply with an instruction from a member of staff.
- (b) Internal truancy.
- (c) Continual unexplained lateness to lessons.
- (d) Fighting in school.
- (e) Abusive or threatening behaviour towards other pupils.
- (f) Bullying.
- (g) Abuse to school buildings.
- (h) External truancy.

## SECTION 3 : Major Offences

- (a) Aggressive and threatening behaviour towards a member of staff.
- (b) Physical assault of a member of staff.
- (c) Bullying with intent to extort money from another pupil.
- (d) Unprovoked physical assault of another pupil.



#### SECTION 4 : Sanctions

- (1) Detention.
- (2) Extra Work.
- (3) Warnings.
- (4) Lesson report.
- (5) Letter home.
- (6) Full report.
- (7) Removal from certain lessons.
- (8) Internal Suspension : removal from all lessons.
- (9) School disciplinary hearing (Head of Year / Head of Faculty / Deputy Heads / Headteacher / Education Welfare worker).
- (10) Suspension.
- (11) Exclusion.

## **APPENDIX B(v) : POLICY STATEMENT FOR ON -SITE (FORMERLY OFF\_SITE) UNIT AT RHS**

### Introduction

- 1.1 The On-Site Unit at RHS is a positive alternative for those pupils who refuse to conform to the normal life of the classroom and who express their rejection in a variety of ways.
- 1.2 By means of a strategic withdrawal from some or all of their normal lessons the pupils will be afforded a period of reflection, self- assessment and recovery, so that they may be reintegrated as soon as possible into the main school.
- 1.3. As an effective 'support unit' the On-Site provision will seek to play an important preventative role in relation both to underachieve- ment and disruption.
- 1.4. The Unit should be seen by all staff as a structured, therapeutic environment rather than a punitive one.

### Aims and Objectives

- 2.1 The overall aim of the On-Site Unit is to provide an additional resource within the school for the particular needs of those pupils who have failed to respond to the normal intervention of both the pastoral and academic staff and whose continued presence in the classroom may be considered prejudicial to other pupils and to the work that the class-teacher is attempting to do.
- 2.2 More specifically this general aim can be seen to encompass :
  - (i) helping pupils to overcome a crisis which may be reflected in anti-social behaviour in the classroom.
  - (ii) assisting pupils to overcome individual learning difficulties.
  - (iii) involving pupils in their own learning in order that they may gain greater confidence and sense of success.
  - (v) providing effective counselling.
  - (vi) preparing pupils for a successful return to the main school.
- 2.3 Within these aims are a series of specific strategies or objectives designed to reduce the occurrence of deviant behaviour manifest by certain young people :
  - (i) to improve reading, writing and maths skills.
  - (ii) to teach certain study skills.
  - (iii) to provide individual counselling.
  - (iv) to create a purposeful learning environment where young people and adults can work together.

- (v) to help pupils to share in some of the responsibility for the running of the unit.

### Referral procedure

- 3.1 It is likely that referrals to the Unit will fall into two main categories :
  - (a) Those pupils whose extreme behaviour necessitates immediate removal from the main school environment.
  - (c) Pupils who have a background of continuous, long-term but less serious disruptive behaviour.
- 3.2 During the course of any school year other areas of need may be highlighted (for example, school phobia, bereavement) which may require more long-term placement for counselling with a view to partial/complete reintegration.
- 3.3 In the case of urgent referrals the Deputy Head (Pastoral) will contact the Head of Unit directly and the pupil will be withdrawn immediately.
- 3.4 This will normally be followed by a meeting, within 24 hours, of the pupil's Head of Year, subject teacher(s), form teacher and staff from the On-Site Unit. This would normally be followed by a home visit by Unit staff
- 3.5 For pupils whose referral is less urgent a full case-conference will be organised, prior to the pupil's placement in the Unit. This will be attended by those staff indicated in 3.4, together with the EWO (Education Welfare Worker).
- 3.6. In both cases (3.3 and 3.4) meetings will be convened by the Deputy Head (Pastoral).
- 3.7 The On-Site Unit is a 'short-stay' unit and as such the maximum length of stay for the majority of pupils will be 2-3 weeks. Some pupils will only need a few days attachment to the Unit while other, isolated, cases may need more long-term placement.
- 3.8 Each referral would normally be followed by a home-visit, within 48 hours of the placement. This home-school relationship is seen to be of intrinsic importance in the Unit's work with the pupil in question.

### Organisation

- 4.1 The On-Site Unit will normally be staffed by two teachers; one is the Head of Unit (Mrs Eden).
- 4.2 The staff of the On-Site Unit will, by regular Pastoral Committee Meetings, case-conferences and through informal contact, maintain close liaison with main school staff. Unit staff will also be available at lunchtimes and after school to discuss any problems relating to individual pupils. Additionally, teaching staff may also contact

- 4.3 In a similar way, regular contact with the Education Welfare Service Social services, Child Guidance etc. is of the utmost importance. It is the policy of the On-Site Unit to develop and strengthen links between these external agencies and the Unit.
- 4.4 All pupils will follow a structured, academic course developed by the staff of the On-Site Unit, in consultation with subject teachers, Heads of Faculty and the advisory and support service in the County. Implicit in this arrangement is that all staff who teach a pupil who is placed in the On-Site Unit will be asked to provide suitable work for the pupil during his/her absence from the mainstream classroom.
- 4.5 In setting work mainstream colleagues should bear in mind that a pupil who misses a weeks lessons could easily become disaffected if he/she returns to main school and cannot follow what is happening in class. It is essential that the work set is relevant to the needs of that particular pupil and, where required, is modified according to the aptitude/ability of the pupil.
- 4.6 Considerable academic input will be provided by the staff of the Unit, based upon the individual learning needs of the pupil : these will be negotiated with the Compensatory Education Department.
- 4.7 Alongside this academic activity the staff of the Unit will pursue a vigorous policy of social education and counselling directed at assisting the pupil to gain a sufficient degree of control, self- confidence and motivation to return to main school.
- 4.8 The role of the staff of the On-Site Unit in initiating and developing contact with parents is of vital importance (see 3.8) Visits made by staff will be fully reported to the Head of Year and to the Deputy Head (Pastoral).
- 4.9 During their period of attendance at the Unit pupils will be allowed to mix freely with their peers at breaktimes and lunchtimes and be free to participate in all extra-curricular activities (subject to the agreement of the overseeing member of staff).
- 4.10 A temporary register of attendance will be kept by the Unit for the duration of a pupil's placement. This will be sent to the relevant Head of Year at the end of each week (or, in the case of a shorter period, at the end of the placement). The usual main-school sanctions will apply for lateness.
- 4.11 Unofficial absence from the unit will be followed by immediate contact with parent(s) or guardian and a report sent to Head of Year and Deputy Head (Pastoral).
- 4.12 The full school policy relating to discipline will be followed. On entry to the Unit pupils and parents will be given a written outline of the expectations and role of the On-Site Unit.
- 4.13 In cases where continuous incidents of extreme behaviour persist whilst a placement is in progress an urgent meeting will be convened by the Deputy Head (Pastoral) to discuss alternative strategies

### Assessment & Reintegration

- 5.1 The progress of each pupil placed in the Unit will be monitored on a daily basis by the staff of the Unit. Each week a written report of progress will be made, relating to both academic achievements and the level of the pupil's social integration with adults and peers. Use will be made of self-reporting techniques in helping to compile part of this.
- 5.2 The weekly assessments will form the basis for any recommendation for reintegration (either whole or partial) into the main school.
- 5.3 Prior to reintegration (in whatever form) a full case-conference will be held to discuss the pupil's suitability for a return to normal schooling. This will be convened by the Deputy Head (Pastoral) and attended by On-Site Unit staff, Head of Year and relevant subject teachers.
- 5.4 The staff of the On-Site Unit would expect to be involved in a range of support activities in the period following a pupil's return to the main school. This would be discussed at the reintegration meeting (5.3).

### Summary

- 6.1 The On-Site Unit should be viewed as a strategic resource; as such it will be of optimum effectiveness if used in a therapeutic rather than a punitive way, addressing itself to the central issue of disruptive behaviour in the classroom.
- 6.2 The 'counselling role' of the Unit will be attempted from the position of order and a clear framework for self-motivation and discipline. Counselling skills will be used to explore the pupil's perceived area of difficulty.

Mrs M. Eden (Head of On-Site Unit)

September, 1984

## **APPENDIX C (i) : SCHOOL ORGANISATION (CVHS)**

### **(i) Curriculum Structure :**

Clearwater Valley High School is organised 8 subject departments.

Department of Mathematics : 7 Teaching Staff

Department of English : 8 Teaching Staff

Department of Science : 6 Teaching Staff

Department of Social Studies : 6 Teaching Staff

Department of Physical Education : 4 Teaching Staff

Department of Music : 2 Teaching Staff

Department of Special Services : 4 Teaching Staff

Electives : 7 Teaching Staff

Library : 1 Teaching Staff

(Each Department has a Departmental Head and an Assistant; Curriculum matters are the overall responsibility of an Assistant Principal)

### **(ii) Guidance Structure :**

Grade 9 : 6 Home Room Teachers

Assistant Principal

Grade 10 : 6 Home Room Teachers

Grade 11 : 6 Home Room Teachers

Assistant Principal

Grade 12 : 6 Home Room Teachers

(Guidance affairs are the overall responsibility of the Assistant Building Principal)

## **APPENDIX C (ii) : TEACHING STAFF AT CLEARWATER VALLEY HIGH SCHOOL**

Principal : Mr Deakins

Assistant Principal (Curriculum) : Mr Estenson

Assistant Principal (Building) : Mr Hollings

Math : Mr Dolwin; Mr Ellsworth; Mrs Forgan; Mrs Grainger; Mrs Segers; Mr Velletino;  
Mrs Weitz

English : Mrs Ausbach; Mr De Leon; Mrs Epstein; Mr Ferrens; Mrs Marran; Mrs Populov;  
Mr Silverino

Science : Mrs Hilmington; Mr Laurie; Mr May; Mr Templeman; Mr Tubbe; Mr Waitman

Social Studies : Mr Easton; Mrs Hendell; Mr Morttenson; Mr Ward; Mrs Wedder;  
Mrs Zeitlin

Physical Ed : Mr Jacobs; Mr Keplow; Mrs O'Halloran; Mrs Rosenstock

Special Services : Mr Camporo; Mrs Freidel; Mrs Taylor; Mrs Wakeman

Electives : Mr Bellinger; Mr Bonney; Mrs Borrows; Mrs Norton-Cross; Mrs Porterfield;  
Mr Richards; Mr Tarrer

### **APPENDIX C(iii) : SCHOOL AIMS (CVHS)**

1. To provide a sound basic education for all, enabling students to develop their intellectual abilities to their maximum potential.
2. To provide a program of effective guidance for all students, so that they may be prepared for future challenges (in further education, careers, social relationships and citizenship) so that they may assume leadership roles and independence in a wide range of social and professional groupings.
3. To promote a positive self image amongst the student body by emphasising the intellectual, physical, emotional, social, personal and cultural aspects of student development.
4. To enable students to achieve intellectually and socially in a safe and secure environment.
5. To offer to students a planning role within the organisation of the school.
6. To provide enhanced educational opportunities for those students who are the victims of social and economic disadvantage.



## **APPENDIX C(iv) : SCHOOL DISCIPLINARY CODE**

All students have a responsibility to :

1. Protect the right of others to study and work.
2. Attend classes daily.
3. Be on time for all classes.
4. Dress appropriately for school.
5. Cooperate with teachers, administrators and significant others at all times.
6. Have all the required books and materials for classes.
7. Complete all work (classwork and homework) according to set deadlines.
8. Not bring in to school any alcohol, firearms or controlled substances.
9. Obey the School Discipline Code at all times.

## **APPENDIX C(v) : CVHS (LEARNING CONTRACT)**

- 1.1        The responsibilities of all students are :
- 1.1.1     To attend school classes regularly and punctually.
- 1.1.2     To comply with all school regulations and to follow the student behavior code.
- 1.1.3     To follow their prescribed course of study.
- 1.1.4     To respect the authority of teachers, administrators and other school staff.
- 1.1.5     To accept responsibility for antisocial and inappropriate behaviors.
- 1.1.6     To respect the school and private property.
  
- 1.2        The responsibilities of all teachers are :
- 1.2.1     To retain high academic and social expectations for all students.
- 1.2.2     To mirror these expectations in personal relationships with students.
- 1.2.3     To consistently emphasise the dignity and worth of every individual.
- 1.2.4     To offer help, advice and encouragement to all students, irrespective of race, class, sex or disability.
- 1.2.5     To avoid confrontation with students and to develop with them working relationships based upon trust and understanding.
  
- 1.3        The responsibilities of all parents are :
- 1.3.1     To be familiar with District and School policies as they relate to student behavior (academic and social).
- 1.3.2     To work with the school in the development of standards of discipline and learning.
- 1.3.3     To cooperate fully with the school to control their child's behavior in school.
- 1.3.4     To accept the concept that the education of their child is a partnership between school and parent.

## **APPENDIX C(vi) : ISS (RESOURCE ROOM) ARRANGMENTS AT (CVHS)**

### **Prologue**

The Resource Room (ISS) system originated in 1982. It exists as a means of ensuring that students at CVHS are retained in the school, so that serious misbehaviours are not punished by depriving our students of access to education. Faculty members should use this facility skillfully, so that it remains a resource available to the most 'at risk' students within our school community.

### **Purpose**

- (a) To retain the student in full-time education at CVHS.
- (b) To allow students opportunities to reflect on their actions and, with counseling, develop ways of dealing with future situations.
- (c) To allow a misbehaving student to continue academic work, with the support of subject teachers.
- (d) To enable the student to return to full-time main school activities as soon as possible.

### **Population**

- (a) Students will be assigned to the Resource Room (ISS) by means of administrative referral. This process will be managed by the School Disciplinary Committee (SDC) comprising the Assistant Principal, the school counselor and a senior Faculty member.
- (b) It is not expected that students will be referred to ISS in their first semester at CVHS.
- (c) Students will be referred as a result of failure to conform to the Student Disciplinary Code or as a result of being in breach of the Student/ Teacher/ Parent Contract.
- (d) If a student is referred on more than 3 occasions to the Resource Room (ISS) a further offence will result in out-of-school suspension. (e) Rainier School District and the parents of the student will be notified of student assignation to the Resource Room (ISS).
- (f) School administrators (via the SDC) will retain the final authority to determine which offences warrant in-school suspension (vs. out of school suspension).

### Program

- (a) The Resource Room (ISS) will be staffed by teachers having training in special programs. One teacher is a trained counselor.
- (b) The Resource Room (ISS) teachers will, by cooperation with other Faculty members, arrange a program of study which will enable students to complete all class assignments.
- (c) Students will be given intensive help and support in completing such assignments.
- (d) Time will be allocated for counseling sessions, either individualised or, where common problems exist, by group counseling.
- (e) Items (b), (c) and (d) will enable the student to return to the mainstream program and function satisfactorily in academic and social terms.
- (f) Assignment to the Resource Room (ISS) will mean a number of restrictions on pupils :
- (g) Resource Room (ISS) students will not be allowed entry to extra- curricular programs or sports.
- (h) Resource Room (ISS) students will have alternative lunch periods to the main student body.
- (i) Resource Room (ISS) students must report to the Resource Room 5 minutes before the start of class.

### Product

- (a) Students returning to mainstream classes will be monitored by Resource Room teachers.
- (b) Faculty with observations & comments regarding former ISS students should contact Mrs Freidel.
- (c) After a student has received 3 ISS assignments, the SDC and Resource Room (ISS) staff will meet to discuss possible ways of avoiding out of school suspension.
- (d) On such occasions, home contact is desirable.

# **APPENDIX D(i) : DISRUPTIVE STUDENTS IDENTIFIED BY RHS STAFF**

|                         | <u>Rank Order</u> |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| A = Allan HILTON        | 9                 |
| B = Bernard EVANS       | 7=                |
| C = Chris THORNTON      | 1                 |
| D = David SMITH         | 5                 |
| E = Eddie STYLES        | 7=                |
| F = Frank BAILEY        | 6                 |
| G = Georgie MICKLEWHITE | 2                 |
| H = Hugh MARLEY         | 10                |
| I = Ian CROSSLEY        | 3                 |
| J = John FROST          | 11                |
| K = Kenny BARFORD       | 4                 |
| L = Liam WALKER         | 12                |

\* The 12 students listed above were named most frequently by the teachers at RHS when asked 'Which students do you consider as disruptive?'. Teachers were not asked to give reasons for their response.

**APPENDIX D(ii) : DISRUPTIVE  
STUDENTS IDENTIFIED BY CVHS STAFF**

|                      | <u>Rank Order</u> |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| M = Maury TORNER     | 4                 |
| N = Norton SMITH     | 5                 |
| O = Olwin WILLIAMS   | 9=                |
| P = Peter PERTENKO   | 2                 |
| Q = Dennis(1) DEVLIN | 6                 |
| R = Ray MANZEREW     | 8                 |
| S = Steven DILLON    | 9                 |
| T = Tommy GANNAWAY   | 6=                |
| U = Dale(1) RIVERS   | 1                 |
| V = Vivian LEACH     | 11                |
| W = Wayne SHELLIN    | 3                 |
| X = Daniel(1) WEY    | 12                |

\* The 12 students listed above were named most frequently by the teachers at CVHS when asked 'Which students do you consider as disruptive?' Teachers were not asked to give reasons for their response.

- (1) CVHS had no students on roll whose name began with 'Q' 'U' or 'X'.  
Student names starting with 'D' ( = 'disruptive') have been used in these cases.

## **APPENDIX E : SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

### Note

The question format outlined below was used in semi-structured interviews with school students in the following way : (i) The initial introduction to the student was made by a teacher with whom the student had a 'good' relationship (ii) conversations took place over a period of several weeks in each of the two case-study schools; the initial meetings were informal, and no recording (by note-taking or by tape) took place (iii) The students were then asked if they would be prepared to talk individually about their life in school under four headings (see below) (iv) In each section the questions outlined were used primarily as prompts; where a student talked freely on the identified topic no additional questions were asked. Notes were taken during the course of the conversations. (v) At the conclusion of each session the student was asked if he wished anything he had previously said to be discounted (vi) All students had access to the notes and recordings and could ask for them to be destroyed at any point during the research

### Curriculum & It's Delivery

Can you tell me something about the lessons (classes) you have in school?

What school subject do you like best ? ( Why is this ?)

What school subject do you like least ? (Why is this ?)

What sort of learning activity do you enjoy ? (Prompt)

What sort of learning activity to you dislike ?

Which type of work do you find particularly difficult ?

Do you get help with this ?

What do you do if you can't do something in class ?

Do you usually do your homework and/or assignments ?

What would you like to do when you leave the school ?

### Personal & Professional Qualities of Teachers

Tell me something about your teachers.

Which teacher(s) do you get on well with ? Why do you think this is ?

Which teacher(s) don't you get on with ? Why do you think this is ?

What would be your ideal kind of teacher ?

### Interpretations of Disruptive Behaviour

When did you first start getting into trouble with teachers ?

What sort of things did you do to get you into trouble ?

Which was the most serious behaviour ?

What exactly happened ?

Who's fault do you think it was ?

Do you think that the punishment was fair ?

How do you think that the school should handle behaviour problems in students ?

Do you think that the Unit / ISS is a good or bad idea ?

What happens when you get sent there ?

Do you feel unhappy at having to go there ?

Is there any sensible alternative ?

### School Organisation and Ethos

Do you enjoy being at this school ?

Who are your closest friends ?

What is the best thing about this school ?

What is the worst thing ?

Does the school ever get in touch with your parents ?

What do you think about the school rules ?

What sorts of things do you have control over in this school ?

When you leave what is the thing that you will remember most about it ?



## **APPENDIX F (i) : DISRUPTIVE STUDENT STATEMENTS (RIBBLESIDE HIGH SCHOOL)**

(The origin of each statement is denoted by the initials of the disruptive student making it at the end of each statement : See Appendix D (i) for full names of students).

### **1. THE CURRICULUM AND ITS DELIVERY (166 Statements)**

#### **MICROSYSTEM (56 Statements)**

I enjoy PE because it's good and active. (AH)  
I never go to Science. It's fucking useless. (AH)  
The lessons are all crap : History is a waste of time. (CT)  
He just gives us a load of worksheets and then dosses about. (BE)  
Mr Penny does work hard and sometimes I do. (BE)  
There's no point in trying 'cos I'll never understand Maths. (AH)  
I can't do a thing right for Jenkins : my English file is pathetic. (ES)  
She comes in and asks me to do stupid Maths, which is shit. (DS)  
We do only do worksheets and worksheets with Mr. Penny. (DS)  
It (Design and Technology) is a lot of writing and there's no equipment. (JF)  
If you don't work for Bengo he keeps you behind, but he doesn't explain it. (KB) English is a boring lesson and I don't pay any attention to it. (KB)  
I don't like French...it stinks and Mr Smith stinks. (LW)  
Ms Rains does work hard and so I do sometimes. (AH)  
I decided to work hard for Dimmock because I wanted to prove him wrong. (IC)  
The best way in French is to have your book open and then you're O.K. (HM)  
Science is a waste of time because he said I'll never pass the tests. (BE)  
I hate most of the stuff here, especially Maths and French. (GM)  
I've learn't fuck all in school. It's all crap and they're crap. (FB)  
I usually don't bother going to lessons..just to have Dimmock shouting at me. (ES)  
If I mess about I don't learn nothing. (JF)  
At the end of term I rip my books up and think 'Is this all I've done ?'. (FB)  
Whenever we have English I spend the time looking out of the window. (CT)  
Dimmock only teaches the good ones : he doesn't know what interests us. (LW)  
I don't work in Raybould's class, just sit there and keep out of trouble. (JF)  
I think I'm good at my work, but not always. (DS)

Sometimes it gets fucking boring, in Science especially. (FB)

There is only Eden in this school who teaches us right. (GM)

Teachers like Dimmock and Bengo expect us to learn stuff straight away. (IC)

There are lots of subjects, like Geography, where you just get talked at (KB)

Most of them (teachers), like Fields, give you only shit stuff to do. (HM)

French is a load of bollocks. (FB)

I try hard in some of my subjects....like Art and Geography. (DS)

I thought I'd done a great piece of work, then Dimmock doesn't mark it. (BE)

A lot of the time I feel dead pissed off in English and stuff and don't work. (AH)

I enjoy P.E. because it's good and active. (ES)

I don't go to Science because I hate the teacher. (JF)

In English you can have a laugh...we don't do work with Bengo. (CT)

Why go to Maths when you have more fun on the corridors ? (CT)

If she helped me I think I'd be good at Geography. (GM)

It's not Rayban (Mr Raybould) that I hate it's shit stuff like dates. (ES)

When Porter comes in we just take the piss because Art's a doss. (LW)

I get good marks in English sometimes, so Measures thinks I'm a swot. (AH)

Maps and Geometry will never do no good. (LW)

I never do Maths homework because he doesn't explain it. (DS)

Dimmock ignores me because he says I don't want to work. (AH)

Cullingford gets you working even in French, because you have to with him. (BE)

I hate most of my lessons because they're boring. (CT)

You ask Smillie a History question and he doesn't answer 'cos he's Geog. (CT)

I like certain subjects, like Art and Electronics...yes, that's good. (LW)

When he comes in he just writes on the board and tells you to copy stuff. (GM)

Gibbo's a bit of a prat, but he makes you finish the work. (ES)

With Worrall you don't try to be loud, you just hide at the back and stuff. (KB)

Work here is boring. It's just writing and writing all the time.....English is the worst. (FB)

There's some good bits, like when you use computers. (CT)

They expect you to read loads even when you can't. How can I understand worksheets if I can't read them. (BE)

I think all our lessons are too long and it's difficult to concentrate. (HM)

### MESOSYSTEM (81 Statements)

You ask a teacher a question and it just gets ignored. (CT)  
Teachers don't really help that much if you've got a problem. (AH)  
No-one hardly pays any attention in class. (CT)  
There is less teaching by teachers and more copying out of books. (LW)  
We don't learn anything because we don't get anything out of the lesson. (KB)  
I reckon that they (teachers) only want to teach the good kids. (JF)  
We don't like new teachers covering for our proper teacher. (IC)  
Most of the time we just take the piss in lessons. (HM)  
We get some good chances here with some teachers. (ES)  
I usually play cards and stuff with me mates...they never check. (FB)  
There's too many supply teachers in this place and we get them a lot. (BE)  
We get treated like shit by them and they give us crap work to do. (JF)  
Why should I put up with lessons I don't like ? (DS)  
I'm not taking the piss, but some of them (teachers) just sit about. (BE)  
None of us takes any notice and we just learn off each other. (AH)  
They say I sometimes work well....I really want to do well. (KB)  
What we learn is useless so we just ignore things. (CT)  
I object to being dumped with Eden....all my mates are in 10x. (GM)  
Some of the teachers ask me what I think and I can tell them. (ES)  
They should make teachers learn stuff again so that they teach us right. (BE)  
I've done lots of work, but they don't mark it so I stopped bothering. (LW)  
Some of them take the piss and give us stupid nonsense to learn. (FB)  
What's the point of learning the capital of Spain ? I don't want to go there. (LW)  
Some of the stuff they give us is interesting and good. (BE)  
The only time she talks to me is to tell me it's wrong. (IC)  
We just move from one boring lesson to the next...we're like gypsies. (FB)  
Two of my teachers are great because they prepare stuff, the rest are shit. (AH)  
All of us hate school and the teachers in it. (FB)  
There's so many old books and equipment. How can you respect that ? (LW)  
We sit at the back and try to work but you just get bored. (IC)  
They give us stupid stuff to do for homework...you don't know how to do it. (ES)  
When I want help teachers just ignore me because they think I'm trouble. (CT)  
You're just left to get on with the stuff yourself. (BE)  
If you're not a good studier the teachers just ignore you or send you out. (GM)  
There's a couple of teachers who help us by explaining things. (JF)  
Lessons were good when I first came here, but then I stopped understanding. (LW)  
I give the teachers cheek, but it's all that reading and writing. (AH)

All that happens is that we're told to get on with things and he sits and reads his paper. (HM)

We do worksheets and worksheets. (DS)

Some of them teachers get money for nothing and I try to make them work. (IC)

The older teachers are best because they've got the experience. (KB)

None of us is interested in all this shit. (CT)

If I was a teacher I'd make things more relevant to us. (AH)

Even when you want to work they get you for little things, like talking. (BE)

I've had some good lessons which are well organised and I learn stuff. (JF)

A lot of the time it's O.K. because you've got your mates. (ES)

They think that you'll be dead excited by some crap video. (CT)

We are just treated different...like little kids who don't know nothing. (KB)

In my work there are some teachers who joke and still make us learn. (AH)

We just get told to find stuff to keep us busy. (GM)

We're just told the same useless facts time after time. (JF)

They explain things as though you're fucking daft. (ES)

Some of it (lessons) is good, like when we do experiments and games. (IC)

The stuff we get is shit, but other classes do alright. (LW)

There is not enough chances in this school for us to do decent subjects. (LW)

I get bored, but only because they're sitting there ignoring us. (HM)

If I were the boss I'd get rid of them that don't teach us right. (JF)

Most of the time we're the ones who get teachers who are not supposed to be with us anyway. (HM)

We won't take exams or anything, so why should we care ? (FB)

Some teachers are really good and use examples and explain things. (DS)

Just because my brothers did well they think I'll be good. (CT)

What's it going to be good for, all this sitting in rooms. (IC)

When I get a job I might think different about this learning, but not now. (BE)

They just walk around the class helping them that know it anyway. (JF)

They give us the worst equipment and the worst teachers. (JF)

Some days it's really O.K. because the teacher is lively and interesting. (GM)

We get told which subjects to do because there's no room anywhere else. (CT)

A lot of times they come in write something on the board and that's it. (HM)

It's good in class because you have a joke and that's what we do. (LW)

I was good in some subjects, but then they got difficult. (BE)

They never mark the work, so I never do it. (AH)

Even when you work hard they've got no time to see to you. (AH)

How do they expect you to learn about things if you've got no equipment ? (JF)

There's times when I get on well because a teacher sits and explains it. (IC)

They keep saying I need to work so I can get a good job. (KB)  
You're just left to get on with the stuff yourself and we get the worst teachers (ES)  
They ask you to work too quickly. (KB)  
Why don't we have our own computers and stuff instead of writing. (DS)  
All these lessons are fucking boring alright. (FB)  
They are happy when I just come in and go to sleep. (AH)  
Sometimes I just rip the work up because my mates will laugh at it. (CT)

### EXOSYSTEM (27 Statements)

I think they ought to change this system so that we get good schools. (HM)  
They should send teachers away on courses. (KB)  
We get sent to a psychologist because they think we're thick. (CT)  
My Mum reckons I should do better, but she doesn't realise it's boring. (AH)  
When the inspectors come round they start doing things for us. (IC)  
It's a lot different when they talk to my Mum on parents' night. (LW)  
All these politicians go on about education when you have to vote. (GM)  
Other schools round here are better because they've got good teachers. (DS)  
It should be like Elleray (Primary School) which was great. (KB)  
Schools should be better organised to give us the lessons that we want. (LW)  
We had two big nobs from the Education here and they all changed. (HM)  
The lessons are too long. (BE)  
We get too many substitute teachers who give us word searches. (JF)  
What's it all about, all this fucking learning ? (FB)  
There's some bloke who comes round checking on us, but not on teachers. (ES)  
We need to tell people up there (the Education Office) what we need here. (AH)  
Teachers who don't do their job should be sacked, like in a factory. (KB)  
Schools teach you nothing for the outside world. (LW)  
My Dad was brought up to school and told that I wasn't working. (ES)  
When we have visitors they don't come and talk to us because we'd tell them the truth.  
(AH)  
What's the point of sending me to see some doctor because I don't work : it's the school  
that's shit, not me. (GM)  
There should be more time taken to get the right teachers for us. (DS)  
All the money is spent on posh things and not on our learning. (CT)  
They ought to scrap school for kids like us. (HM)  
The Council should spend more on facilities for us in this place. (HM)  
Learning here is crap compared to College. (GM)

Why can't they (Education Officials) come here and see what garbage stuff we have to learn ? (GM)

### MACROSYSTEM (2 Statements)

Life is all about being told what to do and when, especially when you're learning. (ES)  
Schools are just places to be, that's all. (AH)

## 2. PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS (119 Statements)

### MICROSYSTEM (24 Statements)

They always talk to me about when they were young, especially Dimmock. (BE)  
Some of them, like Smillie, call me names and when you do the same he'll send you out. (FB)  
A lot of the teachers, like Measures, are scared of you. (FB)  
I can get on with one or two of them but not my English teacher. (CT)  
None of us listen to what Farmer says in assembly...it's fucking boring. (FB)  
We aren't scared of anyone, even Cullingford. (FB)  
The Head calls me in to his office in short, sharp spurts...and when he realises he's wasted his time he tells me 'run along now'...he always says that. (AH)  
One of my teachers keeps saying this 'when she was a girl' stuff. (ES)  
The Head walks around the school and thinks we're working but we're not. (GM)  
I don't like it when they get angry with me because then they've lost control. (JF)  
When someone works for me, like Eden, I give them respect. (KB)  
One teacher shoves me about, but when I do it back I'm sent to Cullingford. (FB)  
If Mr Cullingford says do something you usually do it and you expect to be punished if you don't. (IC)  
When you meet Mrs Measures outside she talks different to you, as though you're really there. (AH)  
My favourite teacher plans things for me and helps me in lots of things. (BE)  
When you walk down 'A' Block you can guess which class is Bengo's without looking because that's where the shouting is. (JF)  
On yard duty Mr Gifford talks to us about all sorts...it's good then. (LW)

I think Mrs Eden is best... she's nice and she's got a sense of humour. (CT)  
 I work best when he says 'Right, this is what I want you to do today'. (DS)  
 I would be happier if teachers were livlier and more fun with me, like in Art. (ES)  
 Teachers like Bengo are crap because they've got no discipline. (LW)  
 In class, if the teacher is well organised then I can work, like in Geography. (AH)  
 Mrs Eden is the best because you can talk to her. (KB)  
 She called me by my second name, so I know she doesn't respect me. (ES)

### MESOSYSTEM (66 Statements)

Teachers here don't help you that much when you're a problem. (GM)  
 There are some teachers in the school who can't discipline. (AH)  
 Teachers should plan our work better so that we know what's happening. (BE)  
 Teachers here can't cope with our sort. (HM)  
 A lot of them talk about us behind our backs. (KB)  
 I think a teacher has to be nice...with a sense of humour. (LW)  
 Some teachers are hard and some are soft. I like the hard ones. (IC)  
 I like a teacher who is calm and the class is quiet and everyone works. (ES)  
 I like teachers who listen. (DS)  
 Some teachers definitely can't control the pupils. (CT)  
 If they gave everyone a chance to say what they have to say it would help us. (DS)  
 Bad behaviour is not dealt with properly : sometimes you're punished for little things. (BE)  
 I think it's unfair to be picked on all the time. (LW)  
 My school has got a load of teachers who don't give any thought about us. (IC)  
 We think that some of the teachers are stupid. (IC)  
 All my teachers are alright really. (JF)  
 The teachers are O.K. and not as bad as they're made out to be. (KB)  
 The teachers are too soft....they can't control the pupils. (FB)  
 The teachers let us get away with too much. (JF)  
 They think they're better than you because they've got qualifications. (CT)  
 I don't respect the teachers because they don't respect me. (DS)  
 Some of them stay behind to do clubs and things : others just fuck off. (CT)  
 There are two teachers here who you do what you're told with because you respect them and they're powerful. (GM)  
 Some of them tell me off in front of my mates and that pisses me off. (FB)  
 A lot of teachers talk about you to other teachers and it's always bad. (JF)

You can tell when they don't like you because they just look at you as if you're an animal or plant or something. (LW)

Some of the women teachers are scared of us I think. (CT)

Teachers expect you to open doors for them but they don't do it for you. (AH)

What would happen if they were shoved round all day...they'd see what it's like....they'd not cooperate. (BE)

You get told one thing by one teacher and something else by another. (IC)

To tell us off they give us lines or detentions and things. (IC)

I think that some of the teachers here know they're wasting their time. (LW)

Some teachers just don't like you. (ES)

I think it would be better if teachers were allowed to hit you. (ES)

I don't like teachers looking tatty....and some of them smell. (DS)

Teachers should discuss things more openly with you. (HM)

The teachers with good discipline are the best and if you don't follow the rules you get kicked out. (JF)

There are a few teachers who you have a laugh with and still work hard. (LW)

A lot of the teachers are friendly people who just want to do their job. (ES)

There needs to be more understanding in this place between teachers and pupils. (KB)

Although the teachers lose their temper they don't get into trouble. (CT)

A lot of the teachers are late for class but they don't get in trouble. (BE)

I don't expect any favours from the teachers here. (CT)

Some of my mates get on well with the teachers here. (LW)

The teachers here are a bunch of wankers...the lot of them. (BE)

Not all teachers ignore you : the good ones give you time and attention. (AH)

Some of them go off to the pub and you know they shit all over you. (HM)

They talk a load of bollocks do teachers, because they say work hard and you will get good marks but that never happens. (DS)

Some of them give us lots of laughs and they're humourous. (KB)

They don't check with other teachers who you're working well with. (GM)

When the teachers want to they can really pick on you. (CT)

Losing their temper makes them look stupid because you just laugh and it makes them get worse. (AH)

I like some teachers who dress good and not shabby. (ES)

Some of them have got bad breath. (ES)

What really pisses people off is when teachers don't organise their lessons. (GM)

He called me a bastard and that's out of order. (CT)

I'd like them to sit and listen to me instead of shouting. (IC)

Some of the rules aren't kept by the teachers and that's out of order. (HM)

The teachers can't control people like us...they've no idea. (ES)



If teachers gave us a chance to explain what it's like then it'd be O.K. (AH)  
 The teachers stick together and never criticise eachother even when they know that things are wrong. (KB)  
 Maybe the teachers should change places with the kids. (ES)  
 Everyone knows there's them who can't control and pick on certain kids. (FB)  
 I don't give a fuck about what they say about me...they're nothing. (FB)  
 Teachers are the same as everyone else, they make mistakes. (JF)  
 Only the senior people here get respect. (HM)

### EXOSYSTEM (26 Statements)

People from the Government should get rid of shit teachers. (FB)  
 Teachers have got lots of stuff to deal with besides us. (DS)  
 I just laugh when they say they earn shit wages and say why don't you get a job on the bins. (AH)  
 Teachers are not given enough help to control classes. (AH)  
 They make it sound good on parents' evening and it fools my Mum and Dad. (DS)  
 There should be checks on incompetent teachers so that they can be sacked. (HM)  
 I think they should organise training for them that can't cope with us. (KB)  
 We should be allowed to go on to College where we can get a proper education. (JF)  
 You always hear teachers complaining about this and that but at least they've got smart cars. (JF)  
 None of us would be a teacher because they're boring people with boring lives. (LW)  
 Schools are badly organised and you never do the subjects that you want. (BE)  
 Teachers should be better qualified to deal with us. (BE)  
 At case-conferences teachers are dead polite, but they're not really. (CT)  
 They always send us supply teachers who're useless. (IC)  
 They should give us more teachers so we'd get more attention. (IC)  
 If we had the same rules for every school it would be fairer. (BE)  
 When you go to any school you should all sign an agreement or something. (HM)  
 People like my Mum don't understand the shit they put us through. (GM)  
 I'd like to get Granada here to fucking expose them. (CT)  
 Sometimes there are visitors in the school checking on the teachers. (LW)  
 In most schools there are some crap teachers, but others are O.K. (ES)  
 Farmer shows big nobs around and even teachers like Bengo have to work. (DS)  
 You never see teachers being told off by their bosses. (DS)

I've been to three different schools and a lot of teachers are pathetic and pick on me a lot. (JF)

Even if the Queen came here she wouldn't change the way they think. (IC)

They have meetings about you with social services and just slag you off. (DS)

### MACROSYSTEM (3 Statements)

It's only because they'd never get another job that they teach. (ES)

Everyone needs educating, so there will always be teachers. (KB)

Anything to do with schools and all that is crap and useless. (FB)

## 3. INTERPRETATIONS OF DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR (114 Statements)

### MICROSYSTEM (30 Statements)

One time I got sent there (on-site unit) for swearing a few times at Mrs Coomber. (AH)

Smillie doesn't give a shit because he behaves as if I'm not there most of the time. Then he starts shouting at me for talking to one of the others. (HM)

I was out of order when I scratched a teachers car. (KB)

If I disrupt a lesson I deserve to get sent out. (JF)

If you start a fight with a teacher you've only got yourself to blame. (GM)

We sometimes play cards and then she says get out to Mr Cullingford for disrupting the class....but that makes no sense to me. (IC)

I'm disruptive when I make stupid noises in class. (LW)

Sometimes I've worked alright and your're then told it's wrong and that gets you going because it's taking the piss. (FB)

You just mess about in English because you're bored. (AH)

On Thursday's it's shit so you look out for a bit of excitement. (FB)

I'd like to do Dimmock. I wouldn't mind getting kicked out for that. (DS)

I reckon if you gave Measures a hard time she'd send you to Cullingford. (LW)

If you swear at some teachers it's alright...but try it with Rayban....(GM)

She's the worst because she's so tense. You can't do a thing right. (IC)

I fool around with those teachers who treat me like shit. (IC)

The teachers here get het up by small things, stupid things. (ES)

Teachers who are crap, like Smillie, are them that get the trouble. (BE)  
 In some classes the teacher can't control us an then we get into trouble. (CT)  
 When you start a fight it's bad, but if you stick up for yourself that's O.K. (JF)  
 Rules don't worry me because I just do what I like so long as they don't catch me. It's easy to dodge them. (GM)  
 The teachers treat me like dirt, like I don't exist and then I start. (FB)  
 If I don't do any work then I deserve to get sorted out. (KB)  
 I get into trouble because they know what I'm like, so prats like Raybould pick on me. (CT)  
 My worst class is when I have English because we have to write a lot. (LW)  
 Dimmock makes a bad atmosphere in his class because he's always shouting. (AH)  
 Some kids think that they should sit there and take it, but if it's shit then I'll get up and walk out....but that gets me in trouble. (ES)  
 I don't mind getting kicked out even when I haven't done anything. (GM)  
 Bengo's useless, because he can't control us and then he blames us for it. (JF)  
 In Science I tipped chemicals over Chapman and that got me suspended. (IC)  
 I mess about in a lot of classes by taking the mick out of teachers. (LW)

#### MESOSYSTEM (38 Statements)

Not enough attention is paid to what goes on at breaktime. (LW)  
 When they provide crap lessons for groups like ours you have a laugh. (GM)  
 It's O.K. to take the piss out of teachers because everyone does that. (ES)  
 You have to have a go because of the stupid rules. (HM)  
 Each teach thinks that they follow the rules but they don't because they make their own rules up. (IC)  
 You don't get into trouble because you keep your head down. (IC)  
 They think they rule the place. They're so superior. Always right. (HM)  
 It's only fighting that's bad.....all the rest just happens in schools and you should expect it. (AH)  
 If you do something that's against the rules you expect to be punished. (KB)  
 Nothing's provided for us here, so we make our own fun, like....trouble. (ES)  
 Sometimes the arguments get out of hand and people do too much cussing. (ES)  
 Too many people bunk off lessons. (KB)  
 The school should be strict when pupils bring an offensive weapon in. (BE)  
 Sometimes my mates wind me up. (GM)  
 It's just the system at this fucking place that gets you in trouble. (IC)  
 Those kids who are rude to teachers should be kicked out. (LW)

Thornton and the others are always at it. They're bad. (BE)  
 Usually the trouble starts when a group gets out of hand. (HM)  
 I sometimes wonder why we just can't cooperate. (KB)  
 Most of us know when to stop. (JF)  
 When you have a laugh there are some teachers who have a laugh as well. (KB)  
 When you start some aggravation in class the teacher should calm you down instead of getting all excited so that you continue. (LW)  
 They exaggerate when they say we're out of control and bad. (BE)  
 We should decide what things are good and bad and then the teachers would get sent out. (FB)  
 Some kids get really disruptive with certain teachers. (ES)  
 The worst thing anyone can do is fight with a teacher. (DS)  
 There's always someone bigger telling teachers what to do. (CT)  
 Misbehaving is...like anything that's on the Code of Conduct. (AH)  
 We get fucking picked on when we've done nothing. (FB)  
 But if you do bad things then you have to take the consequences. (GM)  
 If you're good in class they're more sympathetic but if you aren't a good worker then you get a bigger punishment. (BE)  
 What happens to you depends on the moods of the teacher. (KB)  
 If you know how to work the system you won't get caught. (DS)  
 There are too many rules and regulations all round us. (IC)  
 Some of them (teachers) let us off with things....they see the funny side. (BE)  
 The older teachers don't stand any nonsense and it's best with the new ones. (CT)  
 All of us get in trouble with teachers because they can't control us. (DS)  
 Most of the time the teacher has a point. (ES)

#### EXOSYSTEM (14 Statements)

What do they expect from me ? A primary school kid ? (IC)  
 The Education should tell them that their rules are wrong. (LW)  
 Some schools are good because the staff understand you when you're in a bit of bother, but not here. (KB)  
 We should have our own separate place, with decent teachers who were trained to do the job. (FB)  
 It's nothing to do with school sometimes because you're just pissed off. (FB)  
 We get somebody from the Police coming in to tell us about the consequences and so we won't do it. (ES)

They all say we'll get kicked out and end up in the Unit (I.T. CENTRE). (JF)  
 All the time you're doing it you think that it's because you'd rather be somewhere else. (DS)  
 There's a lot of kids who think we just do things because we're a gang outside as well. (CT)  
 Those people (from School Psychological Service) are all fucking mad anyway. (FB)  
 My Mum says I should grow up and stop creating in school. (BE)  
 It'll be a lot better when we go to College because then we'll have to behave. (AH)  
 We don't do half as bad things as them at the Unit. (JF)  
 Even those people at the Education have been round to control us. (AH)

### MACROSYSTEM (32 Statements)

You all fight at school...that's where it happens. (FB)  
 Everyone should do as they're told because you're supposed to. (JF)  
 I can't think of what disruptive behaviour is....just being bad. (LW)  
 It's just ordinary problems in schools. (KB)  
 All kids do things in class because you have to piss about with your mates. (FB)  
 It's just laughing and joking because we're a gang. (IC)  
 We know that it's the behaviour they expect. (AH)  
 Kids should know when to stop. (BE)  
 Everyone should get on with everyone else. (CT)  
 All schools are shit and students like us cope with them. (JF)  
 Rules are made to control us and it's a good thing. (KB)  
 There's no point in school because you get blamed for everything...it's the same all over the place. (HM)  
 School's a doss because we know we don't have to work. (GM)  
 Teachers are against us and that's the way it is. (LW)  
 You have to stand up to them otherwise they'll really fuck you about. (FB)  
 We all like to have a go, that's natural isn't it ? (CT)  
 We're fucked about by everyone and everything. (BE)  
 Sometimes you think that life's not too bad and you relax a bit and stuff. (DS)  
 All teachers ask for it because of the job they do. (ES)  
 They shouldn't make us go to school at our age then we wouldn't be disruptive. (JF)  
 You do it because it's fun and because your mates do it as well. (AH)  
 It's like you're doing it because there's nothing else to do. (BE)  
 All kids get in trouble now and again, that's to be expected. (HM)  
 You have a scrap but you don't think 'Big deal, I've had a fight'....it just happens because that's the way you are brought up. (ES)

I sometimes think we should all obey the rules because we'll have rules wherever we go. (BE)

Lots of kids like me get in trouble in class because that's an age you're passing through. (IC)

Only girls don't have to have a go, because they're different. (GM)

Teachers are all shit and they try to control you all the time. ((FB)

When things get out of hand you think it's because of everything. (JF)

There's no point in being here, so we have a bit of fun because they make us. (FB)

It's just boring when you behave all the time, everyone knows that. (LW)

I'll think different about it in a few years time. (BE)

#### 4. SCHOOL ORGANISATION AND ETHOS (93 Statements)

##### MICROSYSTEM (17 Statements)

Farmer goes on about being adult but his rules are kids' rules. (AH)

The head in this school is no good. (CT)

I like to dodge Gibbins on the corridors at break. (DS)

Some teachers, like Dimmock and Smillie, are in the school just to tell us off. (IC)

Sometimes Smillie asks us to come to his room for a chat - but you think he's listening and the 'phone rings and he says he's got to go. (IC)

I like the action and being with my friends. (JF)

I like most of my lessons and being with my mates. (JF)

The school buildings are shit, and you get the same boring food given to us each day because we're always last in. (LW)

Some of the time I think this place is alright, but at others the thought of coming here really pisses me off. (KB)

I'd like to get more responsibility for myself so that I can encourage myself. (KB)

I just move around from room to room and from one teacher to the next. (ES)

The best time is when I see the others on the corridor. (DS)

I think this school is a really depressing place to be in. (AH)

I'm always told off for being late, but I know it takes ages to get from Art to English even if you put a shift on. (CT)

I'm not given the opportunity to socialise with my mates. (JF)

If I do even a small thing like drop litter someone collars me, yet there's lots of others who get away with it. (BE)

## MESOSYSTEM (70 Statements)

Teachers here make the rules and then they say 'We're all in this together. (CT)

They expect bad behaviour from us and plan things so that they can control us. (AH)

The teachers don't seem to realise that we break the rules, just because they don't catch us. (DS)

The school is run by a few kids, who control things for the others. (KB)

They should give us a special room so that we could have a base and our own rules that we'd vote on. (JF)

When it rains and everyone's inside you can feel that there's an atmosphere building up and that there might be trouble. (IC)

A lot of us get no fun out of being here and we want to leave. (LW)

It's best at breaktimes and dinner because there's hardly no teachers on duty. (ES)

Assembly is worst because they tell you off in public. (DS)

Teachers ought to talk with us to find out how we really think. (BE)

When you meet them (teachers) outside they're completely different. (IC)

The worst thing about school is not being able to sit with your mates. (KB)

There are three or four teachers who you don't mess with, but the rest are easy. (DS)

None of us will be made prefects or have any responsibility. (BE)

When you get sent to the Unit then all the teachers think that's all you're good for. (CT)

This school needs painting and there's too much vandalism. (BE)

You can tell when there's going to be bother because there's lots of action and movement on the corridor. (JF)

The teachers call you by your second name sometimes, and that's insulting. (LW)

You know you don't get no respect because they pin a note up in the staffroom for everyone to see. (DS)

There's a lot of atmosphere here and sorts like us just kick against it. (GM)

We keep asking if they'll let us have a proper School Council with power instead of using it for fucking useless stuff like running the Tuck Shop. (FB)

With some teachers they make it alright, and you think then that it's really worth being in school. (BE)

When you talk to some teachers you can sometimes realise that they're just like us. (GM)

Some of the time you can feel really miserable here because of all of the rules. (HM)

If we were in charge we'd make sure that who was in charge had some power and really listened to us. (HM)

School's best when you can get on with friends. (CT)

You can tell when a teacher doesn't like you by the way they pass you on the corridor. (AH)

They need to spend more money on the school itself instead of the Head's room. (ES)

They tell you all the rules when you get here and there's a fucking lot. (DS)

Nobody ever takes much notice of us. (JF)

We could run it better, with better rules and more clubs. (AH)

We've got a class representative on the School Council, but she's scared to tell them how we feel. (ES)

We've got a minibus, but we never use it because it's always booked for field-trips and stuff. (KB)

School is great for meeting your mates and having a bit of a laugh. (LW)

We shouldn't have to wear uniform. (KB)

The school spends money on stupid things like the office and paintings for the walls instead of on the departments. (BE)

Sometimes you can have good fun on the corridors just dodging teachers. (CT)

None of the teachers are interested in us. (DS)

Why don't they let us go to their meetings and tell them i's shit and then things would improve. (ES)

Sometimes there is a feeling that something big is going to happen because there's a buzz in the place. (DS)

You get a load of rules and people telling you what to do. (HM)

There should be more social activities for us to take part in. (FB)

The school is always running out of equipment. (JF)

It's not much good here because they (teachers) don't know how to have a bit of a laugh. (LW)

When was the last time anyone of us lot got given a prize ? (GM)

We ought to have more people like social workers who could listen to us and help us with the problems. (HM)

All the time you know that they think you're shit and that they laugh at you, so we laugh back at them. (HM)

Coming to school for football's O.K. because there's no pressure there. (LW)

We enjoy going on trips and stuff. (FB)

It's useless because everyone is on sat each other. (KB)

It can be a laugh when there's something going on. (DS)

It's not fair if you've got a tutor who doesn't understand you. (DS)

We're cooped up with the same teachers all the time, not like the others. (CT)

The school should have special course for us to take part in. (BE)

If we could get a decent place to be we'd not bother going to class, then there'd be no trouble from us. (BE)

Some parts of the building are quite good, like the Craft Block, but the rest is shit. (LW)

It sometimes gets cold in class but they won't let us keep our coats on. (KB)

Most of the time being here is shit. (FB)



Why not have it so's you just come in when you feel like it ? (CT)  
There's got to be rules, otherwise there would be loads of trouble. (KB)  
They should paint the school to make us proud of it. (BE)  
We sometimes have discos in the evenings and that's good. (IC)  
When we got in Year 9 they told us things would be different later, but they're not. (DS)  
It's about time they changed some of the rules here because they're old-fashioned. (HM)  
This school is fucking pathetic...they won't let you do a thing. (FB)  
School is run for the teachers, it's a club for them. (DS)  
It's just a load of rules and people giving you a bollocking when you come in here. (ES)  
Sometimes there's a good atmosphere, like when it's around Christmas and everyone relaxes. (GM)  
It's us sort that puts a bit of life in the place. (CT)  
If you're late you get sent somewhere else, and that makes you even later for your next lesson. (CT)

#### EXOSYSTEM (3 Statements)

This place ought to be like a college. (JF)  
The school is about the same as the others, not better or worse. (DS)  
Sometimes you feel ashamed about the reputation of the school. (KB)

#### MACROSYSTEM (3 Statements)

Schools are there for a purpose, so there's no point in arguing. (GM)  
There's a way round everything. (CT)  
Everyone's got to go to school because that's expected of you. (GM)

**APPENDIX F (i) (cont.) : DISRUPTIVE STUDENT  
STATEMENTS (RHS) : Positive & Negative Continuum  
(Individual Students)**

ALAN HILTON

1. THE CURRICULUM AND ITS DELIVERY

MICROSYSTEM

I enjoy PE because it's good and active.  
I never go to Science. It's fucking useless.  
There's no point in trying 'cos I'll never understand Maths.  
Ms Rains does work hard and so I do sometimes.  
A lot of the time I feel dead pissed off in English and stuff and don't work.  
I get good marks in English sometimes, so Measures thinks I'm a swot.  
Dimmock ignores me because he says I don't want to work.

MESOSYSTEM

Teachers don't really help that much if you've got a problem.  
None of us takes any notice and we just learn off each other.  
Two of my teachers are great because they prepare stuff, the rest are shit.  
I give the teachers cheek, but it's all that reading and writing.  
If I was a teacher I'd make things more relevant to us.  
In my work there are some teachers who joke and still make us learn.  
They never mark the work, so I never do it.  
Even when you work hard they've got no time to see to you.  
They are happy when I just come in and go to sleep.

## EXOSYSTEM

My Mum reckons I should do better, but she doesn't realise it's boring.

We need to tell people up there (the Education Office) what we need here. When we have visitors they don't come and talk to us because we'd tell them the truth.

## MACROSYSTEM

Schools are just places to be, that's all. (AH)

## 2. PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS

### MICROSYSTEM

The Head calls me in to his office in short, sharp spurts...and when he realises he's wasted his time he tells me 'run along now'...he always says that.

When you meet Mrs Measures outside she talks different to you, as though you're really there.

In class, if the teacher is well organised then I can work, like in Geography.

### MESOSYSTEM

There are some teachers in the school who can't discipline.

Teachers expect you to open doors for them but they don't do it for you.

Not all teachers ignore you : the good ones give you time and attention. Losing their temper makes them look stupid because you just laugh and it makes them get worse.

If teachers gave us a chance to explain what it's like then it'd be O.K.

## EXOSYSTEM

I just laugh when they say they earn shit wages and say why don't you get a job on the bins.

Teachers are not given enough help to control classes.

### 3. INTERPRETATIONS OF DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR

#### MICROSYSTEM

One time I got sent there (on-site unit) for swearing a few times at Mrs Coomber.  
You just mess about in English because you're bored.  
Dimmock makes a bad atmosphere in his class because he's always shouting.

#### MESOSYSTEM

It's only fighting that's bad.....all the rest just happens in schools and you should expect it.

#### EXOSYSTEM

It'll be a lot better when we go to College because then we'll have to behave.  
Even those people at the Education have been round to control us.

#### MACROSYSTEM

We know that it's the behaviour they expect.

### 4. SCHOOL ORGANISATION AND ETHOS

#### MICROSYSTEM

Farmer goes on about being adult but his rules are kids' rules.  
I think this school is a really depressing place to be in.

#### MESOSYSTEM

They expect bad behaviour from us and plan things so that they can control us.  
You can tell when a teacher doesn't like you by the way they pass you on the corridor.  
We could run it better, with better rules and more clubs.

## BERNARD EVANS

### 1. THE CURRICULUM AND ITS DELIVERY

#### MICROSYSTEM

He just gives us a load of worksheets and then dosses about.

Mr Penny does work hard and sometimes I do.

Science is a waste of time because he said I'll never pass the tests.

I thought I'd done a great piece of work, then Dimmock doesn't mark it. Cullingford gets you working even in French, because you have to with him. They expect you to read loads even when you can't. How can I understand worksheets if I can't read them.

#### MESOSYSTEM

There's too many supply teachers in this place and we get them a lot.

I'm not taking the piss, but some of them (teachers) just sit about.

They should make teachers learn stuff again so that they teach us right.

Some of the stuff they give us is interesting and good.

You're just left to get on with the stuff yourself.

Even when you want to work they get you for little things, like talking. When I get a job I might think different about this learning, but not now. I was good in some subjects, but then they got difficult.

#### EXOSYSTEM

The lessons are too long.

## 2 PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS

### MICROSYSTEM

They always talk to me about when they were young, especially Dimmock.  
My favourite teacher plans things for me and helps me in lots of things.

### MESOSYSTEM

Teachers should plan our work better so that we know what's happening.  
Bad behaviour is not dealt with properly : sometimes you're punished for little things.  
What would happen if they were shoved round all day...they'd see what it's like....they'd not cooperate.  
A lot of the teachers are late for class but they don't get in trouble.  
The teachers here are a bunch of wankers...the lot of them.

### EXOSYSTEM

Schools are badly organised and you never do the subjects that you want. Teachers should be better qualified to deal with us.  
If we had the same rules for every school it would be fairer.

## 3. INTERPRETATIONS OF DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR

### MICROSYSTEM

Teachers who are crap, like Smillie, are them that get the trouble.

### MESOSYSTEM

The school should be strict when pupils bring an offensive weapon in.  
Thornton and the others are always at it. They're bad.  
They exaggerate when they say we're out of control and bad.

If you're good in class they're more sympathetic, but if you aren't a good worker then you get a bigger punishment.

Some of them (teachers) let us off with things....they see the funny side.

### EXOSYSTEM

My Mum says I should grow up and stop creating in school.

### MACROSYSTEM

Kids should know when to stop.

We're fucked about by everyone and everything.

It's like you're doing it because there's nothing else to do.

I sometimes think we should all obey the rules because we'll have rules wherever we go.

I'll think different about it in a few years time.

### 4. SCHOOL ORGANISATION AND ETHOS

### MICROSYSTEM

If I do even a small thing like drop litter someone collars me, yet there's lots of others who get away with it.

### MESOSYSTEM

Teachers ought to talk with us to find out how we really think.

None of us will be made prefects or have any responsibility.

This school needs painting and there's too much vandalism.

With some teachers they make it alright, and you think then that it's really worth being in school.

The school spends money on stupid things like the office and paintings for the walls instead of on the departments.

The school should have special course for us to take part in.

If we could get a decent place to be we'd not bother going to class, then there'd be no trouble from us.

They should paint the school to make us proud of it.

## CHRIS THORNTON

### 1. THE CURRICULUM AND ITS DELIVERY

#### MICROSYSTEM

The lessons are all crap : History is a waste of time.  
Whenever we have English I spend the time looking out of the window.  
In English you can have a laugh...we don't do work with Bengo.  
Why go to Maths when you have more fun on the corridors ?  
I hate most of my lessons because they're boring.  
You ask Smillie a History question and he doesn't answer 'cos he's Geog.  
There's some good bits, like when you use computers.

#### MESOSYSTEM

You ask a teacher a question and it just gets ignored.  
No-one hardly pays any attention in class.  
What we learn is useless so we just ignore things.  
When I want help teachers just ignore me because they think I'm trouble.  
None of us is interested in all this shit.  
They think that you'll be dead excited by some crap video.  
Just because my brothers did well they think I'll be good.  
We get told which subjects to do because there's no room anywhere else.  
Sometimes I just rip the work up because my mates will laugh at it.

#### EXOSYSTEM

We get sent to a psychologist because they think we're thick.  
All the money is spent on posh things and not on our learning.



## 2. PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS

### MICROSYSTEM

I can get on with one or two of them but not my English teacher.  
I think Mrs Eden is best... she's nice and she's got a sense of humour.

### MESOSYSTEM

Some teachers definitely can't control the pupils.  
They think they're better than you because they've got qualifications.  
Some of them stay behind to do clubs and things : others just fuck off.  
Some of the women teachers are scared of us I think.  
Although the teachers lose their temper they don't get into trouble.  
I don't expect any favours from the teachers here.  
When the teachers want to they can really pick on you.  
He called me a bastard and that's out of order.

### EXOSYSTEM

At case-conferences teachers are dead polite, but they're not really.  
I'd like to get Granada here to fucking expose them.

## 3. INTERPRETATIONS OF DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR

### MICROSYSTEM

In some classes the teacher can't control us an then we get into trouble.  
I get into trouble because they know what I'm like, so prats like Raybould pick on me.

### MESOSYSTEM

There's always someone bigger telling teachers what to do. (CT)

The older teachers don't stand any nonsense and it's best with the new ones.

### EXOSYSTEM

There's a lot of kids who think we just do things because we're a gang outside as well.

### MACROSYSTEM

Everyone should get on with everyone else.

We all like to have a go, that's natural isn't it ?

## 4. SCHOOL ORGANISATION AND ETHOS

### MICROSYSTEM

The head in this school is no good. (CT)

I'm always told off for being late, but I know it takes ages to get from Art to English even if you put a shift on. (CT)

### MESOSYSTEM

Teachers here make the rules and then they say 'We're all in this together. When you get sent to the Unit then all the teachers think that's all you're good for.

School's best when you can get on with friends.

Sometimes you can have good fun on the corridors just dodging teachers.

We're cooped up with the same teachers all the time, not like the others.

Why not have it so's you just come in when you feel like it ?

It's us sort that puts a bit of life in the place.

If you're late you get sent somewhere else, and that makes you even later for your next lesson.

### MACROSYSTEM

There's a way round everything. (CT)

## **APPENDIX F (ii) : DISRUPTIVE STUDENT STATEMENTS (CLEARWATER VALLEY HIGH SCHOOL).**

(The origin of each statement is denoted by the initials of the disruptive student making it at the end of each statement : See Appendix D(ii) for full names of students).

### **1. THE CURRICULUM AND ITS DELIVERY (101 Statements)**

#### **MICROSYSTEM (31 Statements)**

I think I do good in my work sometimes. (MT)

Mr. Laurie gets real mad with me, saying I'll end up dropping out and that I can do better. I guess he's right. (NS)

I like Math, so I don't skip it much. (RM)

The boring lessons are Maths and Technology. I cut them a lot. (XW)

Siverino is shit. He thinks he's God. (WS)

Mr. Mortensen is too impatient...he wants us to work too fast. (SD)

I think all my subjects suck, but mainly English. (VL)

If I have to do an assignment I will go and see Mrs. Freidel. She's the one I depend on to make my grades. (RW)

I don't take notice of what goes on in English....Mr. Silverino knows he's not teaching us and just leaves us alone. (QD)

Mr. De Leon's lectures are sometimes OK. (PP)

What's the point of some equation in Math ? (XW)

This work won't be worth much. Wedder's gonna fail me again. (VR)

I'm sick of the stuff we do in Math and Social Studies. (OW)

Poppy's neat. She's a real English teacher. (DR)

I try hard to get on with the work. (NS)

I don't get much attention from her (Mrs. Wedder). She thinks I'm wasting her time. (TG)

In Math and places I just sit there and feel pissed off. (PP)

I learn a lot in class and I really like Math but not reading. (RM)

Mr. Laurie says I'll make good grades in my tests. He says I will even if it kills him. He's a good guy. (VR)

When I do an assignment I think 'Yeah...that's great'....until I get the paper back and I score a 'C'. Man, that pisses me off. (VL)

I'm quite afraid to ask questions (of her) and she never takes the time to see that I'm struggling. ((MT)

They expect me to do this stuff (worksheet)and then wonder why I get bored. (OW)

This subject (Science) suck, because they don't teach it right. (TG)

I fool about in the English class, that's how I get through. (XW)

Dolwin's a creep....he reckons we're all in love with Math. (NS)

There's no point in trying in English. I'm fucking shit. (RW)

I want more discussion in English and Social Studies...the class would be livelier then. (MT)

There's no point in me going down to English. I just get bad grades. (SD)

We get shit teachers all the time, like Silvo. (VL)

I get a lot of bullshit in Science and Maths. It pisses me off. (VD)

Wedder makes me feel ashamed for being shit. (OW)

A lot of the time I know that I'm going to goof off in Math. So I cut it. (MT)

Who's stupid ? Silverino and Dolwin, and all the rest. They can't teach me nothing at all. (TG)

If he (Mr. De Leon) gives me garbage like this to do I'd rather be somewhere else. (PP)

Only creeps go in for extra tuition. Even if I'm held down a grade I'd still not go. (WS)

I guess I'm not conscientious enough. I keep putting off putting papers in and that gets you a bad reputation. (NS)

I never get good grades, so what's the point.....I get embarrassed when the papers get given back. (VR)

Teachers here, like Ferrens and De Leon, single out a few guys for special treatment and ignore the rest of us. (XW)

In some of the classes I'm just looking for a few laughs. You have to in stuff like Math and Science. (PP)

Math is the one I'm failing with. I can't do it at all. (OW)

Some stuff, like Social Studies and being with Freidel, is OK. (WS)

Dolwin teaches the material too fast. (TG)

I try to get on with the work in English, because I know it's fucking important, man. (RW)

The worst time is when you fail an assignment. De Leon makes you look real foolish. (VL)

I don't think they understand the way I learn. It's personal. I like problems to solve. (TG)

These subjects, and guys like Silverino and De Leon, fuck me right off.(QD)

Most of the stuff I do in English I can't fucking understand, man. (XW)

I'll do OK. a lot of the time in Social Studies. It's cool sometimes. (OW)  
 If I get a pass grade in a Math paper, Dolwin says I've been cheating. (PP) There's no  
 pint in me going to English....I know I'm failing. (XW)  
 I want to do well in all my work, especially in Math. (VL)  
 Estenson comes round a lot and says how learning some poem's important. That's got to  
 be fucking shit, man. (WS)  
 I'll eventually score high grades in Math and English. I'm going to do that. (SD)  
 It's the writing all the time in English that sucks. (VR)  
 Who's Silverino kidding when he says the work is interesting and we'll get on well if we  
 do it ? (OW)  
 I'm fucking useless at all this schooling stuff, especially Math. I want to be better. (XW)

#### MESOSYSTEM (46 Statements)

They just throw the work at us. (VR)  
 If more homework was given more learning would take place. (WS)  
 I don't see any purpose in the shit we've been doing. (MT)  
 I f I pass a paper the teach will say 'Suprise...' (XW)  
 A bunch of other guys get all the attention. (WS)  
 Teachers here piss us off because we do't understand them. (SD)  
 We learn a lot in some classes. (QD)  
 They expect us to work out of shit books which aren't interesting. (TG)  
 I guess some teachers make an effort to make us learn this stuff. (MT)  
 We don't get much attention from teachrers in class...so we fail. (SD)  
 Some of the stuff we do in class is real sick. (VR)  
 There's some good teachers who listen to us and gret us learning. (OW)  
 You can tell you're just a fucking irritation to some teachers. (NS)  
 I get a lot of bullshit in most of my classes. (VL)  
 Some of them (teachers) make it real exciting, man. (PP)  
 Stuff I'm told doesn't have no meaning to me. (VR)  
 The work you're expected to do is dumb. (VL)  
 There doesn't seem to be any point in learning this shit. (RM)  
 Some of the teachers make you feel ashamed because you're not doing well. (PP)  
 It's boring. I don't care about all that stuff. (WS)  
 Teachers here single some guys out for special help....but a bunch of...us guys don't get  
 it. (NS)  
 Stuff we're told to learn doesn't have no meaning to us. (TG)

But we keep being taught by the same teachers who tell us to do the same useless things. (TG)

Our teachers teach the material too fucking fast. (VR)

The good ones(teachers) are the ones who listen to us and try their best to help us. (MT)

None of us is interested in this shit and we just want to go to College. (PP)

All we want to do is to leave, get a job and be able to show them. (XW)

We all know there's no point in all this learning. (RM)

The teachers here are shit....they don't teach us what we need. (SD)

They tell us what we have to do and leave us. (OW)

Some of the stuff we do is OK. and we learn alright, man. (VL)

We sit round in some classes and just laugh at what we're supposed to do. (PP)

The good guys (teachers) are those who plan good things in class. (VR)

What we need is more stuff for when we go to College. (MT)

How can they mess us about with fucking shit subjects and teachers ? (TG)

We'll cooperate for some teachers because we know they try to make things interesting. (WS)

Learning in school is all shit...it's going to take us no place. (NS)

We know when they're just dumping stuff at us and saying get on with it. (VR)

We're here to learn stuff, and some of us guys do try. (MT)

Maybe it's just that they're out of step with the stuff they're teaching. (RM)

Some teachers think that you should be able to learn stuff with no explanations from them. That's sick. (QD)

A lot of us guys have just given up in some classes. (MT)

Why can't classes be more interesting for us ? (XW)

It's not the subject that pisses me off, it's the papers. (NS)

We think the work here is fucking boring, man....who needs it ? (PP)

Guys like us need to have different things to do in each class. (TG)

#### EXOSYSTEM (18 Statements)

I only go to school because I have to. (SD)

I had good fun at elementary school...but I guess most of us guys did. (RM)

The School Board isn't providing nothing for this school. (VR)

They keep telling us that we'll get better electives...it never happens. (XW)

They ought to give us a new school, with a new set of teachers. (TG)

People here are just doing what they're told too. (QD)

They show people around, but they don't see us guys. (VR)

I'm only here because of my folks, that's all. (PP)  
 We get a lot of teachers who only stay for a day. (WS)  
 Some teachers just don't work for us...but I know they get shit wages so why should they ? (OW)  
 I'm just doing this learning because I can get a job. (MT)  
 Everything here is boring, but they've got a job to do. (QD)  
 I'm only here because my probation officer makes me come. (VL)  
 They (teachers) keep pestering my Mum with letters and make her feel guilty about it. (NS)  
 Sometimes we get the School Board round, but they never see the shit we've got to do. (TG)  
 It's all a waste of time, because we don't want to go to senior college. (XW)  
 School's shit, man....you read about it in the papers. (WS)  
 Sometimes we get people testing us, like we're fucking mad or weird. (NS)

#### MACROSYSTEM (6 Statements)

Everyone's got to go to school, I guess. (RM)  
 There's just one thing I want to do and that's finish with all this learning and get out and earn some cash. (WS)  
 There will always be learning to do. (PP)  
 If you're young you expect to be told to work in school. (TG)  
 Life's always boring when you're in school...all kids expect that. (NS)  
 You've got to do something, so you come here. (SD)

## 2. PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS (118 Statements)

#### MICROSYSTEM (58 Statements)

Mr. Laurie is a nice teacher. He wears neat clothes and he's interesting. (QD)  
 Mrs. Zeitlin hates me. She thinks I'm nothing. (PP)  
 Everyone hates Silverino. He's mean. (SD)  
 De Leon is always fucking yelling in class, man. (MT)  
 I want to be with Freidel all the time. She understands me. (RM)  
 Mr. Tubbe's cute. He looks after us when things aren't going well. (TG)  
 My Math teacher sometimes loses his temper when I don't understand. (SD)

I get a lot of help from a counsellor at school. She makes me feel that I'm worth something. (OW)

De Leon can't cope. If there's a problem he'll send for Estenson. (WS)

I like two teachers in this school. They're the ones who help me. (NS)

Mr. Mortenson cuts up rough sometimes. He can't take a joke. (TG)

I want to be with Laurie in the 11th Grade. He's a great teacher. (XW)

It's unfair when I get sent to the Resource Room for nothing....Fields is always doing that to me. (RM)

Mr. Tubbe is one teacher who we like because he sees our point of view. (VR)

Deakins is the only guy we take it from. He's the main guy in this place. (QD)

There's two or three teachers who do the business....keeping things moving. (PP)

Mr. Ward's OK. He's cool. He helps us a lot in class and that. (WS)

He works real hard. Man, we come out of class and think it was great. (OW)

Mr. Silverino gets real mad when we don't work, but that's just him. (VL)

He just comes in, gives us work, then ignores us. (NS)

All teachers should be like Freidel. I think she cares a lot. (MT)

He tried to say I couldn't eat my Danish in the hallway. Well, I was hungry so I ate it. I got sent to Estenson for that. (XW)

On Tuesdays when I'm in the resource room its OK, because Mrs. Freidel takes a lot of care. (VL)

Wedder's sick. She never sees my good work and just criticises. (NS)

Silvo's just plain boring and he thinks he's a great teacher. (MT)

We don't listen to guys like De Leon....he's not interested in us so why should we listen to him ? (VR)

These teachers are shit, man. Look at Hollings, walking around all day instead of teaching. (WS)

Mr. May can be mean sometimes. He's strict, man. (OW)

I like teachers who tell me how it is and give me a chance to answer. (NS)

We work for some teachers, like Laurie and Freidel, because we know we can trust them. (VL)

Why do they let fucking useless teachers like De Leon take our classes. (QD)

Guys like him just sit there and let you work it out yourself. (MT)

We respect teachers like May because he's strict, real strict. (SD)

She comes in the room, like some queen, and expects us to listen. (NS)

Easton came down from 9th Grade and started shouting. We just laughed at him. (WS)

Some teachers, like Ausbach, are only interested if you're doing well. (RM)

There's no point in talking about Silverino, man. He's the worst. (MT)

A teacher should prepare decent work for me to do, then I'd do it. (TG)



One time Estenson comes along and starts at me. For no reason. (SD)  
 Wedder doesn't give a shit about me, you can tell. (PP)  
 I get real confused when Ellsworth tries to explain. It's his voice. (SD)  
 All the teachers here are too impatient, can't wait to get us out.....look at Hilmington.  
 (NS)  
 Like, De Leon always talks about his qualifications, as though we should say 'Wow !'  
 (DR)  
 Freidel's neat. She plans a lot and she's got time for us. (PP)  
 I'd like to learn more, but guys like Mortenson just confuse me. (VL)  
 If the teachers were all fair, like Laurie, I'd be OK. (WS)  
 There's nothing you can do with some teachers....Silverino just shouts and rants at you.  
 (XW)  
 It's peaceful in some classes, and everone works. Like Mr. Mays. (TG)  
 You'll never change creeps like Templeman...they just don't respect us. (RM)  
 I came in to Math and he says 'go away'. Dolwin does that, he doesn't want to know.  
 (XW)  
 We always talk to Laurie, and he'll talk to us. (QD)  
 Dolwin gives you a look which says 'fuck off'...he's like that. (XW)  
 I get confused a lot with Wedder, and she's not patient. (WS)  
 Teachers like May have got good strict rules. (SD)  
 De Leon ignores me most of the time. (RM)  
 You can't goof off with May. (SD)  
 All of us guys know which teachers do the business, like Laurie and Jacobs. (TG)  
 There's no point in asking for help from Silvo..he won't give it. (NS)

#### MESOSYSTEM (48 Statements)

Some teachers are cool and we get no hassle from them. (QD)  
 Most teachers enforce the rules, but some don't. (VR)  
 Some of them (teachers) make us work too fast. (MT)  
 I get on well with most of the teachers, but they're not as good as at elementary school.  
 (XW)  
 I get confused when a teacher tells me something I don't understand. (VR)  
 They never wait for my explanation of things. (TG)  
 It's unfair when I get sent to the Resource Room for nothing at all. (RM)  
 I'm sick of the teachers here. they just moan at mw. (NS)  
 They make decisions about you before they see what you can really do. (PP)

Some teachers are alright...but only a few. (MT)

Teachers here piss me off because they're always telling you what to do, what not to do. (NS)

Teachers at elementary school, man, they were more human. (SD)

Some teachers apply the rules real strict, but others don't give a shit, (QD)

We get blamed for things by some teachers even when we're not in class. (PP)

There are some good guys around...they help you a lot. (VR)

Two or three teachers make it worthwhile coming in to school. (TG)

I'm not interested in them (teachers) and they're not interested in me. (SD)

If I were in charge I'd get rid of teachers who pick on guys for no reason at all. (OW)

We don't need their sort of shit, their moaning and complaining. (VL)

All the guys in the group prefer teachers who can control us. (PP)

We will work hard if we can see the guy respects us. (SD)

I don't like to say it, but we get trashed by a lot of teachers. (MT)

There's one or two who are always first out of the lot and away from here. (QD)

I don't want their shit, their stupid rules and stuff. (NS)

They all teach us different. I can tell the ones who aren't interested and thinking 'Hey, man....I'd rather be fishing'. (PP)

Some teachers give you help with your papers. Others don't. (XW)

We like teachers who give us decent work but let us have a laugh as well, so we still do OK. (VR)

Some teachers in this place do work like hell for all of us. (TG)

A lot of them (teachers) are just boring, out of step. (OW)

Some of the teachers we get aren't qualified. (SD)

I guess we respect some teachers because they're tough with us. (RM)

There's no decent teachers for us, they all teach higher grades. (WS)

The teachers are OK. most of the time. (SD)

They don't care about our views. (PP)

We get shit when we're late, but it don't happen when they're late. (NS)

None of them guys is giving me what I want. (QD)

I reckon they ought to retrain the boring teachers, to give them more exciting things to say to us. (NS)

Us guys need teachers who'll listen, not just shout for no reason. (WS)

Elementary school was good, because the teachers made you work. (PP)

We get ignored all the time by some people in this plkace. (MT)

I might as well not be there for certain teachers. (VL)

We're always the bad guy for some of them (teachers). (XW)

We get drawn in to line only by one or two teachers in this school. (OW)

I don't like those guys that avoid us, because they're scared of us. (SD)

A lot of teachers here don't care about us. (RM)

Sometimes I think that all teachers are the fucking same, man...useless. (WS)

Sometimes we hang out in the hall and no-one bothers us. But we know who to look out for. (XW)

They should treat us like adults. (TG)

#### EXOSYSTEM (8 Statements)

I can't wait to leave. I'm going to go to college...there's fewer people making rules there. (RM)

I'm sick of this place. I ain't going to college because I think education sucks. (QD)

Central is boring....classes seem to be made more interesting in other schools, so why can't we ? (XW)

They should do something about teachers who can't teach. (TG)

Teachers should be made to sit tests each year to teach us. (QD)

They ought to get the School Board down and listen to some of this shit. (VR)

We should spend some time out of school, doing a real job. (PP)

Teachers just teach because it's a job, nothing more. (MT)

#### MACROSYSTEM (4 Statements)

There will always be teachers and always students. (NS)

You've just got to do it. That's what happens. Sometime we'll order guys about. (RM)

They say it's making you grow up...I say shit to that. (PP)

I'm in school, being a student, and they're there making money. (XW)

### 3. INTERPRETATIONS OF DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR (122 Statements)

#### MICROSYSTEM (52 Statements)

All I do is mess about and fight sometimes. (MT)

I kick up in school sometimes because I've got a personal problem. (PP)

I was jumping around and messing, and Wedder got mad and sounded off at me, but she doesn't do it all the time (TG)

When I'm not sure about a class I'll cut it. I get in trouble for both. (SD)

I get real mad when Silverino says you must work. Why should I ? (VR)

When I get hassled by my girl I take it out on the class. (XW)

Someone ripped off my coat, and they blamed me for fighting. (SD)

Two of us got sent to the Resource Room Friday. No warnings, just 'Get out of my room'. We don't get on with Arrams. (SD)

He calls me by my second name. That made me mad because it's not respectful and he wouldn't like it. (MT)

I get called a streetbum by him, so I act like one. (MT)

I know the score. If I act up I know what to expect. (TG)

She just says 'Don't interrupt me' all the time when I go to her. (OW)

There are some guys who always disrupt the class and stop me doing work. (NS)

I just think I'm going to quit school when I get a lot of hassle. (QD)

I get in trouble for stupid things....like not being in class on time. It's my fault, I know. (XW)

I got in trouble for protecting my kid sister from 10th graders. (SD)

Me and Pete were fighting. We admitted that. (RM)

I don't want to work in some classes, so the teacher sends me to the Resource Room. (VL)

I kick up because I'm bored. (VR)

When there's not much activity going on I get pissed off and start to fool around. (XW)

I only mess about in Silverino's class. There's nothing else to do. (TG)

I take no shit from Arrams. One time she accused me of cheating in a term paper and I got real mad, called her a bitch. She just made me madder and madder (VL)

I can be real mean sometimes and I deserve what comes back to me. (WS)

Dolwin's a creep...he's always putting me down. But he couldn't cope when I told him what I think of him in class....he goes straight to Estenson. (VR)

Maury's a jerk. He asks for it a lot of the time. I thumped him for ripping off my coke...that's all. (PP)

There's no-one stricter than Dolwin when it comes to applying the Discipline Code : he won't give on anything, (TG)

I know he (Mr. Templeman) doesn't like some of the rules...thinks they're unfair to us. (OW)

The custodian found me trying to open a locker with a knife. I just wanted a smoke and he had them. (SD)

I had a fistfight with Wayne. It was over nothing, man and we've forgotten it now. (QD)

When I'm low I'll play around in class and some of the guys join in. (WS)

Mr De Leon suffers most of all. Hell, his class is like a zoo sometimes. (XW)

I just do stuff to annoy Silverino because I know he doesn't like guys like us. (NS)

He came down from the 9th Grade hall and started shouting. I thought, 'Fuck this, I ain't taking this. (WS)

It's unfair that I get sent to the Resource Room when I haven't done anything. (VL)

Some teachers here treat me like shit, so I do the same. (SD)

I act up in class because I'm fucking bored with all this shit. (TG)

Sometimes you get caught cutting classes. You expect things to happen to you with May or Estenson, but not with the others. (VL)

If I didn't goof off in class I'd be OK. It always gets me noticed. (RM)

One time I got sent to Freidel because I couldn't understand the Math exercise. Dolwin sucks...he always does that. (MT)

A lot of teachers, like De Leon, try to make themselves look big by sounding off...it never works with us. (NS)

When you get caught by May you expect the worst, man. (XW)

I was making fart noises in Wedders and I got in trouble. I mean, can't she handle that ? (NS)

If the work is shit I think I'll give Silvo something to think about. (XW)

I treat it like a game. You get caught by Laurie, you're OK, but if May sees you then it's real bad. (TG)

The Discipline Code is rubbish, man. I just ignore it. (WS)

If Dolwin treats me bad, I'll treat him bad. (QD)

I don't work in class because I don't see the point. So I get kicked out all the time. (VL)

I just tell teachers what I think, and if it's the wrong teacher, like May, you're in trouble. (VR)

Some guys are OK, because they've no reputation. But I know what the teachers expect me to be like. So I give them what they're waiting for. (SD)

Once I kicked Dolwin's door. It was an accident, but he didn't see it that way. (RM)

If I get treated like horseshit I'm not going to respect him. (TG)

You know the score with Laurie. Even if you're mad you're OK. with him. (XW)

#### MESOSYSTEM (48 Statements)

School rules are too strict, man. So we get up and shout them down. (MT)

There are some students who always disrupt the class, but most of us just do it some of the time. (VL)

We get in trouble for stupid things. Haven't teachers ever done that ? (WS)

They should make it so that the rules are easier to follow, and simpler. (OW)

It's like a game. Some of us guys can cut class and not get found out. Others can't because they're stupid. (WS)

It's not worth fighting the rules. They're there and you can't change them. You just try to keep them. (XW)

There's no point in a lot of the rules. They're just there to bug you. (NS)

Most of us don't get on with certain teachers. We get a kick out of trying to catch them out. (TG)

School's no fun at all if you're straight. (SD)

All the gang get into cutting school. (MT)

When there's not much activity going on we get bored and liven it up. (PP)

Things sometimes get out of hand. Some guys take it too far. (VR)

It's mostly little things that us guys do which irritates some teachers. (QD)

We don't like teachers treating us like shit...we'll not stand for that. (RM)

Some teachers expect that just because you've got a reputation then you'll be acting up all the time. (SD)

School can be a drag sometimes, especially when you don't get on with some teachers. (NS)

Most of the time it's nothing. Just little things that they think is a real big deal. (VR)

There's some teachers you expect to cut up rough, others you get away with things. (QD)

Sometimes you actually want to work but you get distracted. (XW)

So long as you don't stop other guys doing OK, where's the harm ? (PP)

Some teachers have no control, so you know you can do what you like. (OW)

There are some teachers who ask for it...so insulting, man. (VL)

There's no real problem if they just leave us alone. (SD)

If you're in a mood for trouble then there is trouble. (XW)

You want to be one of the good guys some of the time. (WS)

Experienced teachers know that we're just fooling. (QD)

We don't work in some classes because we feel lively and want a bit of fun. (WS)

If school was more exciting then we'd attend more classes. (MT)

There's rules that you can break and one's you can't. (RM)

If you're really clever, like us, you have fun with no trouble. (TG)

There's no big problem, man. It's only fooling around. (PP)

In this school some teachers treat you like horseshit, so they can't expect anything from us. (SD)

When someone acts up and the teacher sounds off at the whole class, then there's big trouble. (NS)

Sometimes you get teachers who share the joke. (VR)

It's nothing, just a bit of excitement in all the learning. (WS)

If one of us guys comes on really strong we control him, man. (PP)

It's better to kick up than to accept this shit. (VL)  
If you're not treated like respect then you'll get mad. (NS)  
How many of us guys get picked on, because they know we're a gang ? (QD)  
There ain't nothing wrong with us at all.....we just like a bit of fun. (VR)  
Some teachers are real crazy, over-reacting and that. (MT)  
The worst thing is violence to Faculty. You'll pay for that. (TG)  
We sometimes go over the top, and that's stupid. (VL)  
Who says you have to behave all the time anyway ? (QD)  
There's too many different interpretations of the rules. (NS)  
Some of us guys don't know when to stop, that's true. (SD)  
Too many kids at Central get away with little things. (XW)  
We'll behave like shit if they treat us bad. (TG)

#### EXOSYSTEM (8 Statements)

I'm not going to graduate, but I'll break probation if I don't come here. (SD)  
My folks carry on at me if Estenson reaches them about me. (QD)  
I wouldn't act up if I could do some real work. (OW)  
There are substitute teachers who're sent, and we try them out and all. (PP)  
You sometimes think twice if you're going to get a State fine. (VL)  
My Mom is always saying I should just take it from them. (XW)  
Sometimes there are psychologists and guys like that trying to understand us, but they can't. (WS)  
If they let us leave, then we'd be different. (MT)

#### MACROSYSTEM (14 Statements)

You're always going to get kids like us in school. (SD)  
They try to keep us down, because that's what they're expected to do. (RM)  
Teachers will always be teachers, and us guys will always be trying to catch them out. (PP)  
Older people think that they were never goofy when they were in school. (XW)  
It's just part of growing up, I guess. (MT)  
Everyone has to let off steam once in a while. (VR)  
There's nothing really bad intended in a lot of it. (VL)  
All kids have to have a bit of excitement. (SD)

It's us and them. That's the tradition...that's what's expected. (MT)  
Things'll be fine when I'm in a job. You grow out of fooling around. (NS)  
There's always rules, you've got to accept it. (QD)  
You just fool about because you're part of a gang. (VL)  
School is always boring, my old man's was. (TG)  
It's like a drug sometime, the excitement gives you a buzz. (RM)

#### 4. SCHOOL ORGANISATION AND ETHOS (68 Statements)

##### MICROSYSTEM (22 Statements)

I like some of the guys at school, but not many. (PP)  
I'm involved in games and a whole lot of activities. That really keeps me going. (VL)  
ISS is a deterrent, man. We get real embarrassed when we go there. (QD)  
I don't like it when you get sent to another teacher for discipline. everyone should deal with things. (XW)  
Sometimes I think that school's like a club...most of us guys hang together anyway. (OW)  
I'm on the football team. So if I want to play I've got to behave. (MT)  
I'd change a lot of things. Like there's too much division between good and bad students. (TG)  
When I started here I thought it'd be like elementary, but it was big, and you don't get to know the teachers. (SD)  
I liked my previous school because I knew more guys there and it was a lot friendlier. (VL)  
I like having guys around me I know. That's cool. (MT)  
I'd like to go into the teachers rest room...that's when you'd find the truth. (PP)  
It's OK. at Central. I think it could be better, more rooms for guys like us, but it's OK. (NS)  
There are guys who have power in this place, like Deakins. (VR)  
I like to be here with some of the guys, but a lot of the time it's a drag. (WS)  
Hanging round the halls is what Pete and I do best. It's cool. (OW)  
The atmosphere in Central really sucks. (PP)  
Sometimes you get to talk to Laurie or Freidel during recess. That's neat. (TG)  
I think there should be better facilities for guys like us...what we get is shit. (SD)  
I would make things a lot lighter, man, fewer rules and that. (NS)  
I thinkl it would be better if we had some involvement in our education. (XW)  
The Discipline Code is there to be broken. All rules are. (RM)  
Central is about the best place for me, because my friends are there. (NS)



MESOSYSTEM (36 Statements)

Some of us guys know that Central holds nothing for us. ((NS)

A lot of the buildings are in real bad shape. (RM)

This place doesn't suit us....there's too many rules. (VR)

Teachers here make the rules and then say 'Hey, we're all in this together. But we ain't.  
(OW)

Things are usually peaceful here. (TG)

This school's OK. It treats you OK. most of the time. (WS)

When I graduate I'll come back here and do some coaching. (RM)

They ask you for good attendance. But they don't make it appealing enough for me to attend. So I say 'Fuck it, man'. (MT)

Central is organised OK. But they should have ISS for teachers. (PP)

We've got some good equipment and it's better than a lot of places. (NS)

Guys like us don't like it because we're always under pressure. (VL)

Sometimes teachers here are really dumb. (SD)

The hall's OK. We can hang round there and not get our butts kicked. (OW)

Teachers on supervisory duty are the worst of all. (VL)

Some teachers create the atmosphere 'cos they're like cops. (RM)

There's no facilities for guys like me here. (TG)

School's OK. if you just want to hang around. (MT)

We don't have any real say in what goes on here. (PP)

Some teachers are really cool. (TG)

You've got to step around the rules. Most of us guys can do it. (WS)

It's about the same as the others...they have good things, and so do we. (NS)

Most of the seniors work really hard, man It just makes us look dumb. (SD)

The teachers make the rules and we just try not to screw up. (TG)

I like having guys around me that I know. (RM)

Some of the teachers get really cute, man....they really try to impress. (SD)

Central's organised for the good guys, not for us. (PP)

Some days you know there's going to be a heavy time....the teachers really prowls around,  
man. (VL)

There's no point in being here, it just depresses us because we've got no freedom. (WS)

Teachers here are fucking sick, man. (VL)

Why can't all of us just get on together ? (NS)

Some teachers say 'I understand', but it's all the same here, because they don't understand. (WS)

ISS is a shit place, and it shows what they think of us. (OW)

There's too much division between good students and bad students. (TG)

There's no excitement in this place....it's a fucking drag. (VL)

They should organise the school so that we can have some say. (OW)

Central could be better if everyone relaxed more. (SD)

#### EXOSYSTEM (4 Statements)

They should send the School Board to look at this place. (VL)

My folks say I've got more than what they had. (SD)

We get a shit school because that's the way they organise things. (MT)

We need more people to visit and stuff.....give us encouragement. (PP)

#### MACROSYSTEM (6 Statements)

There will always be schools like ours. (MT)

It's just a place, like any other. (PP)

Why don't they get rid of school for guys like us....it's sick. (VL)

People say that too much is spent on education...well, we don't see any of it. Nothing. (OW)

Schools not bad, not good....just ordinary. (SD)

We just try to forget it all.....it's nothing to us. (TG)

**APPENDIX F (ii) (cont.) : DISRUPTIVE STUDENT  
STATEMENTS (CVHS) : Positive & Negative Continuum  
(Individual Students)**

MAURY TORNER

1. THE CURRICULUM AND ITS DELIVERY

MICROSYSTEM

I think I do good in my work sometimes.

I'm quite afraid to ask questions (of her) and she never takes the time to see that I'm struggling.

I want more discussion in English and Social Studies...the class would be livelier then.

A lot of the time I know that I'm going to goof off in Math. So I cut it.

MESOSYSTEM

I don't see any purpose in the shit we've been doing.

I guess some teachers make an effort to make us learn this stuff.

The good ones(teachers) are the ones who listen to us and try their best to help us.

What we need is more stuff for when we go to College.

We're here to learn stuff, and some of us guys do try.

A lot of us guys have just given up in some classes.

EXOSYSTEM

I'm just doing this learning because I can get a job.

## 2. PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS

### MICROSYSTEM

De Leon is always fucking yelling in class, man.  
All teachers should be like Freidel. I think she cares a lot.  
Silvo's just plain boring and he thinks he's a great teacher.  
Guys like him just sit there and let you work it out yourself.  
There's no point in talking about Silverino, man. He's the worst.

### MESOSYSTEM

Some of them (teachers) make us work too fast.  
Some teachers are alright...but only a few.  
I don't like to say it, but we get trashed by a lot of teachers.  
We get ignored all the time by some people in this place.

### EXOSYSTEM

Teachers just teach because it's a job, nothing more.

## 3. INTERPRETATIONS OF DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR

### MICROSYSTEM

All I do is mess about and fight sometimes.  
He calls me by my second name. That made me mad because it's not respectful and he wouldn't like it.  
I get called a streetbum by him, so I act like one.  
One time I got sent to Freidel because I couldn't understand the Math exercise. Dolwin sucks...he always does that.

### MESOSYSTEM

School rules are too strict, man. So we get up and shout them down.  
All the gang get into cutting school.  
If school was more exciting then we'd attend more classes.  
Some teachers are real crazy, over-reacting and that.

### EXOSYSTEM

If they let us leave, then we'd be different.

### MACROSYSTEM

It's just part of growing up, I guess.  
It's us and them. That's the tradition...that's what's expected.

## 4. SCHOOL ORGANISATION AND ETHOS

### MICROSYSTEM

I'm on the football team. So if I want to play I've got to behave. (MT)  
I like having guys around me I know. That's cool. (MT)

### MESOSYSTEM

They ask you for good attendance. But they don't make it appealing enough for me to attend. So I say 'Fuck it, man'.  
School's OK. if you just want to hang around.

### EXOSYSTEM

You get a shit school because that's the way they organise things.

### MACROSYSTEM

There will always be schools like ours.

## NORTON SMITH

### 1. THE CURRICULUM AND ITS DELIVERY

#### MICROSYSTEM

Mr. Laurie gets real mad with me, saying I'll end up dropping out and that I can do better. I guess he's right.

I try hard to get on with the work.

Dolwin's a creep....he reckons we're all in love with Math.

I guess I'm not conscientious enough. I keep putting off putting papers in and that gets you a bad reputation.

#### MESOSYSTEM

You can tell you're just a fucking irritation to some teachers.

Teachers here single some guys out for special help....but a bunch of...us guys don't get it.

Learning in school is all shit...it's going to take us no place.

It's not the subject that pisses me off, it's the papers.

#### EXOSYSTEM

They (teachers) keep pestering my Mum with letters and make her feel guilty about it.

Sometimes we get people testing us, like we're fucking mad or weird.

#### MACROSYSTEM

Life's always boring when you're in school...all kids expect that.

## 2. PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS

### MICROSYSTEM

I like two teachers in this school. They're the ones who help me.  
He just comes in, gives us work, then ignores us.  
Wedder's sick. She never sees my good work and just criticises.  
I like teachers who tell me how it is and give me a chance to answer.  
She comes in the room, like some queen, and expects us to listen.  
All the teachers here are too impatient, can't wait to get us out.....look at Hilmington.  
There's no point in asking for help from Silvo..he won't give it.

### MESOSYSTEM

I'm sick of the teachers here, they just moan at me.  
Teachers here piss me off because they're always telling you what to do, what not to do.  
I don't want their shit, their stupid rules and stuff.  
We get shit when we're late, but it don't happen when they're late.

### MACROSYSTEM

There will always be teachers and always students.

## 3. INTERPRETATIONS OF DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR

### MICROSYSTEM

There are some guys who always disrupt the class and stop me doing work.  
I just do stuff to annoy Silverino because I know he doesn't like guys like us.  
A lot of teachers, like De Leon, try to make themselves look big by sounding off...it never works with us.  
I was making fart noises in Wedders and I got in trouble. I mean, can't she handle that ?

### MESOSYSTEM

There's no point in a lot of the rules. They're just there to bug you.

School can be a drag sometimes, especially when you don't get on with some teachers.

When someone acts up and the teacher sounds off at the whole class, then there's big trouble.

If you're not treated like respect then you'll get mad.

There's too many different interpretations of the rules.

### MACROSYSTEM

Things'll be fine when I'm in a job. You grow out of fooling around.

## 4. SCHOOL ORGANISATION AND ETHOS

### MICROSYSTEM

It's OK. at Central. I think it could be better, more rooms for guys like us, but it's OK.

I would make things a lot lighter, man, fewer rules and that. (NS)

Central is about the best place for me, because my friends are there. (NS)

### MESOSYSTEM

Some of us guys know that Central holds nothing for us. ((NS)

We've got some good equipment and it's better than a lot of places. (NS)

It's about the same as the others...they have good things, and so do we. (NS)



## OLWIN WILLIAMS

### 1. THE CURRICULUM AND ITS DELIVERY

#### MICROSYSTEM

I'm sick of the stuff we do in Math and Social Studies.

They expect me to do this stuff (worksheet) and then wonder why I get bored.

Wedder makes me feel ashamed for being shit.

Math is the one I'm failing with. I can't do it at all.

I'll do OK. a lot of the time in Social Studies. It's cool sometimes.

Who's Silverino kidding when he says the work is interesting and we'll get on well if we do it ?

#### MESOSYSTEM

There's some good teachers who listen to us and get us learning.

They tell us what we have to do and leave us.

#### EXOSYSTEM

Some teachers just don't work for us...but I know they get shit wages so why should they?

### 2. PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS

#### MICROSYSTEM

I get a lot of help from a counsellor at school. She makes me feel that I'm worth something.

He works real hard. Man, we come out of class and think it was great.

Mr. May can be mean sometimes. He's strict, man.

### MESOSYSTEM

If I were in charge I'd get rid of teachers who pick on guys for no reason at all.

A lot of them (teachers) are just boring, out of step.

We get drawn in to line only by one or two teachers in this school.

### 3. INTERPRETATIONS OF DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR

#### MICROSYSTEM

She just says 'Don't interrupt me' all the time when I go to her.

I know he (Mr. Templeman) doesn't like some of the rules...thinks they're unfair to us.

#### MESOSYSTEM

They should make it so that the rules are easier to follow, and simpler.

Some teachers have no control, so you know you can do what you like.

#### EXOSYSTEM

I wouldn't act up if I could do some real work.

### 4. SCHOOL ORGANISATION AND ETHOS

#### MICROSYSTEM

Sometimes I think that school's like a club...most of us guys hang together anyway.

Hanging round the halls is what Pete and I do best. It's cool.

### MESOSYSTEM

Teachers here make the rules and then say 'Hey, we're all in this together. But we ain't.

The hall's OK. We can hang round there and not get our butts kicked.

ISS is a shit place, and it shows what they think of us.

They should organise the school so that we can have some say.

### MACROSYSTEM

People say that too much is spent on education...well, we don't see any of it. Nothing.

## **APPENDIX G (i) DISRUPTIVE STUDENT CASE STUDIES (ENGLAND)**

(2) GEORGIE MICKLEWHITE (d.o.b. 19.11.75)

### **1. Historical Background**

Georgie Micklewhite entered RHS in his second year of secondary schooling in October, 1987, aged 12 years. He was transferred from Palatine High School, Whitebrook, after spending his first year at that school. His family comprised mother and an elder brother (17). Georgie's father had left the family home when he was seven. The family lived in a small detached house in the nearby village of Lightholm. Mrs Micklewhite worked as a clerical officer for the local council in Whitebrook.

Georgie had spent his primary years at the local school in Lightholm (Lightholm Church of England Infant & Junior). He had been popular with both staff and students. When this research was conducted the school had a new headteacher, and so comment was obtained from Georgie's class teacher (Mr Taylor) who had taught him for two years whilst at primary school.

Reports from the Lightholm school suggested that Georgie had been an above-average achiever in academic subjects. He was a top reader in his year, and held a good grasp of number work. Georgie was good at most sports, in particular swimming and soccer. He had been a class prefect in his last two years at the school.

During his year at Palatine High School Georgie maintained his academic performances and received good reports from subject teachers in English, French, General Science and Integrated Humanities. He appeared not to get on with Mr Rogers, who taught him for Mathematics and who was also his form tutor. There followed a series of incidents involving Georgie and a group of older boys.

On one occasion, Georgie had been sent to Mr Rogers when he was found outside lessons (internal truancy). Mr Rogers had subsequently entered on Georgie's report sheet that he was 'surly and rude' and that he 'needed bringing down a peg or two'. The entry left the feeling that the disciplinary outcome for the incident was uncertain, and that it was merely one battle in a long-running war between the two.

About six weeks after that incident Mr Rogers had complained to a Deputy Head that Georgie was a 'continuous cause of disruption' and wanted him moved from his tutor group. Further incidents followed, resulting in Mrs Micklewhite being asked to come up to the school to meet the Deputy Head. The results of this meeting were not documented.

In April, 1987 Georgie was put 'on report' because of 'continuous unruly behaviour'. The following June he was suspended from school as a result of what Mr Rogers described as 'grossly insulting behaviour'. At a subsequent case conference Mrs Micklewhite agreed to the Headteacher's suggestion that she should seek an alternative school for Georgie.

On entering RHS Georgie was placed in a second year mixed-ability form group. School reports indicate satisfactory or above average performance. During his second year there were no indications of disruptive behaviour : no entries were contained on the student's records, and teachers could not recall any serious incidents.

Georgie began to display problematic behaviours early in his second year at RHS (Year 3). His Form Tutor was then Mrs Cornthwaite, who subsequently left the school. She recalled one incident which 'summarised Georgie's new attitude to school' :

"I was returning to the staff room after being out of school at lunchtime. Georgie was on the corridor, where he shouldn't have been at that time, hanging around with Kenny and Liam. I told all three to get out, otherwise I'd send them to Mr Cullingford (Deputy Head). Georgie clearly said 'Fuck off, bitch' to me. When I asked him what he'd said he was really bold and said 'You heard'. I reported the incident straight away, but nothing came of it....which is fairly typical. What it did was to make Micklewhite a hero to his mates, and it made me look powerless"

There were 4 entries in Georgie's personal file regarding problem behaviour during 1988-89. One concerned vandalism to a door of the sports hall, whilst the remainder related to his rude behaviour to members of the teaching staff.

Georgie is now in Year Ten (formerly Year Four) at RHS. Reports from his subject teachers and his form tutor were obtained. His Head of Year was absent for a long period during the research, and subsequent written requests for comments regarding Georgie were unsuccessful. Georgie's subject teachers regard him as progressing satisfactorily in all subjects apart from Maths and General Science. As a result of an inability to work in these subjects Georgie was sent to the On-Site Unit. Mrs Chalmers (Maths) regarded Georgie as

'unpleasant' and 'a lad who could have done really well if he'd been disciplined early on'. Mrs Fields felt 'threatened by Georgie, because he knows that I would never be able to physically stop him doing what he wanted'.

## 2. The Current Situation

21.6.90 (a.m) : Excerpt from Student Transcript

### Scenario :

A Year Ten Geography class. Georgie is in a mixed group of 19 students, taught by Ms Rains. They are engaged in a task which requires them to evaluate the transport network of Whitebrook, using a pre-prepared network distributed by the class teacher. Georgie is seated with three other students. The transcript is taken from a point 53 minutes into the lesson (of 70 minutes duration). PG is working as a support teacher, assigned to Mrs Rains, to assist Sarah, a student with learning difficulties associated with school absence (because of illness)

Keith:           What's that there ?

(He points to something on an Ordnance Survey map which has been distributed to each table by Ms Rains)

Keith:           Go on, I can't read it from here. Is it Mellbreak ?

PG:             Mallbrook.....yes.

Sarah:           Mellbrook, actually.

PG:             Oh.

Keith:           Yeah, Mellbrook.....that's on the W20 (bus route)

Sarah:           Yes

Georgie:        They've got all of them (bus routes) in here anyway

(Georgie pushes a "Guide to Whitebrook and Environs" across the table without looking up from his work. Sarah picks it up, doesn't open it and hands it on to Keith)

Keith:           I don't need that. Here, Diggs, cop hold

(He throws it diagonally across the table to Tony Diggle, the fourth member of this working group)

Tony:           I've finished it. God, when's break ? I'm starving. You going to the chippy, Georgie ?

Georgie:        Nah. I've got Chalmers for a detention. She'll just get Vince (Mr Cullingford) to me if I don't. And I've got Eden for sanctuary after that.

(Ms Rains walks across to the table, and begins to look at Keith's work. Tony and Georgie stop talking and return to their work. Ms Rains moves across to look at the work from another table)

Mrs Rains: Make sure that you copy down tonight's homework, please. And those of you who have not finished this piece of work will need to have it done in time for Thursday. You won't get the best out of the trip to the Planning Office if you don't.

Georgie : I'll finish it all with Eden. She's a good skin like that. And she'll help me with it as well.

Sarah: That's tight, Micklewhite.

Georgie : Nah, that's how it works. I shouldn't be there anyway. Just because Chalmers and Fields don't like me. So why shouldn't I do it. I didn't ask to go there.

Keith : It's for der brains anyhow, Micklewhite. Don't know how you stick it there.

Georgie : It's OK. I get on with my work. No-one messes with me. Eden knows what they are like. She reckons some people shouldn't be in teaching

Tony : When's break Miss ?

Ms Rains: There's a clock up there, Mr Clayton.

Georgie : He can't tell the time, miss.

Tony : Fuck off, Micklewhite. At least I'm not a sanctuary man

Ms Rains: Ssshhh

Sarah : Can't we stop now miss ? We've nearly finished. It's only 10 minutes to break.

(Ignores PG. Directs question to Mrs Rains)

Georgie : Yes, miss. Come on.

(At this point other members of the class begin closing their books and shuffling in their seats)

Ms Rains: We've still got a bit to go yet. Carry on with your work, then I'll let you have a few minutes to rest yourselves at the end, OK ?

(The majority of the students return to the set task. A few continue talking.)

Ms Rains walks over to each group, checking work and asking individual students to continue working

Sarah: I think I'll ask Mrs Measures if I can go to the Unit for Maths. I can't stand Chalmers. She's dead boring. I wish we had Mr Jenkins. He's really good.

(Comments directly to PG)

Georgie : Yeah, I'd be alright with him. I reckon Farmer ought to get rid of her..... and Fields.

PG: Let's just..... try and finish this (points to work)  
Sarah : I'll ask Mrs Measures  
Georgie : Ask Rains. She's OK.  
Ms Rains: Sssh  
Tony : Just because you fancy her  
Georgie : Fuck off.....She's got a sense of humour. At least you can joke with her.  
(Georgie grins, appears embarrassed. He continues working)

(At this point in the lesson a student from Year Five enters the classroom and hands a set of papers to Ms Rains)

Ms Rains: Can you get on with your work please ? I'll give out these permission slips for next week at the end of the lesson. If you haven't done the work I'll have to think about whether it's going to be worth you going.  
Georgie : Oh, come on miss. We've done a lot now.  
Sarah : She's only winding us up, Micklewhite. We've all got to go because it's on the course.  
Georgie : I don't want to go anyway. It's boring. Why can't we go to Alton Towers or something ?  
Sarah : Because that's not Geography  
Georgie : It is, soft cow. You could do it all on Alton Towers. Maps. Transport. Land use. Leisure. You could do it all.  
Ms Rains: Ssshhh. Come on everybody. Only a few more minutes.....

(The class, including Georgie, slowly return to their work. Georgie appears to be concentrating on the task provided).



(3) IAN CROSSLEY (d.o.b. 4.7.74)

1. Historical Background

Ian Crossley entered RHS in September, 1985 from Bishoprigg Primary School. He was the only child of Mrs Crossley, whose relationship with Ian's father had terminated when Ian was nine years old. There were several members of an extended family living in the vicinity of Whitebrook, and Ian frequently spent time with Mrs Crossley's parents on their smallholding near Bishoprigg. Ian lived with his mother in rented accommodation in Eden Levels, an area of housing formerly used by the now extinct mining community in Whitebrook. Mrs Crossley worked as a packer in a local frozen poultry plant.

Ian had progressed 'adequately' at his Primary School, according to his class teacher. She observed that he was the 'type of child who didn't stick out in a crowd'. She recollected no major indications that there may be subsequent problems at RHS. On the contrary, another teacher from Bishoprigg felt that he was 'usually helpful and well adjusted'. There was, equally, no indication that Ian had reacted adversely to the domestic problems that Mrs Crossley had encountered with Ian's father.

On transfer to RHS Ian continued to make satisfactory, if unexceptional progress. His school records for Years 7, 8 and 9 contained no written evidence that Ian had an inclination towards disruptive behaviour. Shortly after entering his fourth year at the school (November, 1989) Ian was involved in a disagreement with Mr Dimmock, a Mathematics teacher in the school. It (apparently) stemmed from a series of incidents during that month in which Ian was accused of distributing 'pornographic literature' (sic) in a Mathematics class, followed by a subsequent instance of 'inappropriate touching' of a female teacher. Both events resulted in Mrs Crossley being invited to the school in order to discuss the matter with Mr Cullingford and the female teacher concerned.

From the student-records available it seems clear that these events, and the subsequent notification of Mrs Crossley by the school, marked a clear watershed in Ian's behaviour. The school had recommended that Mrs Hardman sought some form of child guidance for her son : Ian, however, refused to attend planned sessions, and, according to Mrs Crossley 'got a handful at home'.

At RHS during the next two terms (to July, 1990) Ian became increasingly involved in acts of minor vandalism (for example, a number of library books were destroyed : Ian was implicated) and reports of continued 'insolence' and 'rudeness' to teachers, particularly females. In July, Mrs Crossley was asked to attend a meeting at which Ian was to be

discussed. Records of this meeting, contained in Ian's personal file, are very sketchy. It appeared that the Deputy Head (Mr Cullingford), the Head of On-Site Unit (Mrs Eden), Ian's Head of Year (Mr Taylor) were present : there is no written indication that anyone else attended. It was agreed that in September, 1990, Ian should attend the Unit for all subjects apart from English, Mathematics and Geography. The rationale for this was unclear from the notes contained on file, although Ian acknowledged in conversation that he 'got on' with Mrs Rains Geography)

Ian Crossley is currently in Year TEN (formerly Year 5) at RHS. In the period from 6 September, 1990 to present he has been suspended from school on one occasion for assaulting a younger boy who refused to give him some sweets, and he has been disciplined by Mr Cullingford several times, most notably for setting off a fire extinguisher in the female PE changing room. Ian now spends all his time in the On-Site Unit, apart from English and Geography.

## 2. The Current Situation

30.10.90 (p.m.) : Excerpt from Student Transcript

Scenario : Ian Crossley is in the On-Site Unit. It is lunchtime. Ian has returned to the Unit from the chip shop, where he has bought food. One other student, Kenny, is present : he is seated at a desk near a window, painting a design which will be entered for his GCSE Art exhibition. He does not acknowledge Ian. Mrs Eden, the Head of Unit, is reorganising some books and papers on a set of shelves. She is listening to a news programme on a small radio placed on her desk. The transcript extract is taken from a point after Ian has announced his arrival and has slumped in a chair, eating his meal. PG is eating lunch, reading a newspaper.

Kenny : That's a real stink, Crossley. Eat 'em outside.

Ian : It's too cold out there. Miss doesn't mind anyway. You're always moaning you are, Barford. Hey, miss, I'll do that...

Mrs Eden : You eat your food Ian. I don't want chips all over my carpet. How come you're not eating in school today ?

Ian : School dinners 're shit, Miss. You don't eat 'em do you. Anyway Dimmock will be in there and I can't stand him. Especially if I have to sit next to him.

Mrs Eden : Mr Dimmock's alright. He works really hard for you lot, you know. Besides, he's away today.

Ian : Chips are better anyway.

Mrs Eden : But they cost, Ian. It's about £1.20 for fish and chips now isn't it ?

Ian : I've got the money. I worked last weekend up in Bishopprigg.

Kenny : £1 an hour, Crossley ?

Ian : Fuck off, Barford. Least I've got one. You couldn't even get a job if you wanted one.

Kenny : I had one last year.....at Silcocks. And it was better paid than that.

Ian : Yeah, but they have to pay you more to work with Pakis.

Mrs Eden : That's enough, Ian Crossley. I thought you were going to help me with this job ?

Ian : Nah, only joking.

(He walks over to PG. Ian reaches across and grabs PG's newspaper off the table. He flicks through it whilst eating his meal, occasionally throwing an unacceptable chip into a nearby wastebin)

PG : I was reading that Ian

(Holds out hand for newspaper. Ian returns it immediately. Ian wanders over to where Mrs Eden is piling up a set of books)

Ian : When do I leave Miss?

Mrs Eden : Easter, you know that.

Kenny : What about me ?

Mrs Eden : Easter as well....you're both Easter leavers.

Ian : I'm going to leave before then. Then I can get the best jobs. That's what Snellgrove did last year. He works at Armitage Ford now (garage)

Mrs Eden : Well, I'd be very suprised if you got a job before Easter. Most people know they can't do that. Anyway, Martin Snellgrove didn't get that job until well after Easter

Ian : It's boring at this place. Why doesn't Farmer just say we can leave ? I'd get a job dead easy now.

Mrs Eden : You don't just want any job, Ian. You've got to think about how you'll feel later on. What happens if you get married ? I can see you getting married.....

Ian : Everyone says stuff like that. Think of the future. I'm always thinking of the fucking future. They said that to us when we first came to this place. I'll be dead and still looking at the future

Mrs Eden : What exams are you taking ?

Ian : Nothing. I'm not doing nothing.

Mrs Eden : You're doing English for a start. Mr Dillon sends you in with work. And I know you do it. Ms Rains says you'll do OK in Geography as well

Ian : They won't get me a job. I want something decent. With money. I want a bike as well. Besides, if I didn't come in here I'd get more exams. I'll not even pass them. They never even mark the work anyway. Fucking shit.

Mrs Eden : Hey, watch it Ian

Kenny : Yeah, watch it Crossley.

Ian : What'll you do, prat ?

Kenny : I'll sort you out for a start.

Ian : You couldn't sort out nothing....fucking queer (mutters)

Mrs Eden : Come on, lads. That's enough. It's about time you packed up Kenny. I've got a meeting in ten minutes.

(PG gets up, begins to pick up litter from work area)

Ian : You talking about us again ?

Mrs Eden : It's about the trip to Glasgow, Ian. Don't be so sensitive

Ian : Cullingford and all that crowd are always talking about us. They ought to listen sometimes

Kenny : Fucking Council. That's a big joke. Old.....said that it'd be like a government or something. He said we'd be able to change the rules. Cullingford treats us like shit.

Ian : It's only any good for first years. They make decisions about the tuck shop and stupid things like that

Kenny : And Cullingford goes on about being treated like adults. It's a load of shit

Ian : Yes. They should let you run it, Miss. You're decent because you don't look down on us.

Mrs Eden : Come on, Kenny. You've made a real mess over there. Can you clear it all up. And Ian, I want those chip papers put in the bin if you don't mind.

(At this point Ian gets up, runs to a window, which he opens and calls out to a student walking past on the footpath outside)

Ian : Walker, hold up. Here....

(Mrs Eden walks across to the window and begins to close it slowly)

Ian : Walker's got my money. I need it later. Leave off, miss

Mrs Eden : You won't need anything this afternoon except your brains, Ian

Kenny : He's got none

(Ian pushes a water pot, which spills onto the table near to Kenny's work.

Mrs Eden quickly picks it up and puts some paper towels on the table to soak up the water)

Kenny : Right, Crossley, you're going to fucking well get it now

(Ian runs across the room and leaves the Unit)

## **APPENDIX G (ii) DISRUPTIVE STUDENT CASE STUDIES (UNITED STATES)**

(5) PETER PERTENKO (d.o.b. 14.3.75)

### **1. Historical Background**

Peter Pertenko entered CVHS from Pacific Meadows Elementary School in September, 1985. He came from a family of four brothers (one younger and three older) and three sisters (all younger). His three elder brothers were born during Mrs Pertenko's first marriage; Peter was the first born of her second marriage.

The family lived in a rented apartment in Pacific Meadows, an area of medium density housing close to the centre of Clearwater. The locality is regarded as an unattractive place, the focus of much criminal and other anti-social activity. Mr Pertenko is currently (October, 1990) not working, the result of a respiratory disease which doctors have yet to identify. Mrs Pertenko works as a secretary in Clearwater City Highway Department.

At Pacific Meadows Elementary School Peter showed early indications that he 'might become a problem student before he gets much older' ( Peter's 4th Grade class teacher). Reports from the school, contained on his student-transfer form, comment on his 'general unruliness and lack of discipline in class' and of his 'need to be the centre of attention at all times' (4th Grade class teacher). He had been referred for assessment to the school psychologist, but Mr & Mrs Pertenko refused permission for the consultation to take place. Records in the year following transfer to CVHS indicate satisfactory academic progress.

About two years after joining CVHS, Peter became the focus of a small number of male students who 'got a reputation as a particularly difficult group of new students who seemed not to respond to our usual discipline processes' (Mr Hollings Assistant Principal). Among the behaviours which are documented in Peter's first two years at CVHS are 6 reports of indiscipline in class, 2 reports of fighting with another class-member during class time, 1 report of an assault on a younger student (when Peter had moved up to 7th Grade), and a series of infractions relating to academic performance. School-records indicate that Mr &

Mrs Pertenko were asked to 'discuss' at least three of these incidents, but no reports of meetings were documented.

Peter's difficulties continued throughout the 9th Grade, and he was referred to the Resource Room (ISS) on 3 occasions : each time the offence involved a dispute with teacher (Mr Dolwin twice and Mr Laurie). Peter was described as being 'uncooperative, evasive and in need of control' (Mr Laurie). In addition he was found in possession of a quantity of cannabis during a police search of a vehicle in which he was riding. Although seemingly unconnected with school the incident was viewed by the administration at CVHS as demonstrating the 'at risk' status of Peter.

The subsequent school year brought further problems. Again Peter was referred to the Resource Room (ISS) on several occasions. Each time a different teacher was involved, and the reported incidents related to classroom events (rudeness, refusal to work) rather than events during break times. Mr & Mrs Pertenko came to the school to discuss the difficulties and Peter was referred to the Resource Room (ISS) in order that 'he could work out his adjustment problems with the support of the school counselor' (Mr Hollings, Assistant Principal). Mrs Freidel, the Head of the Resource Room, wrote that 'Peter seems to welcome the opportunity to talk about his problems with the law and with his education.....he can be a problematic student, but he responds well to teacher interest in him' (ref).

The current (October, 1990) situation is that Peter remains attached to the Resource Room (ISS). Both he and his parents appear satisfied with this arrangement. Whilst infractions of the SDC continue, Peter has, nevertheless, managed to maintain progress in his academic subjects, and says that he wishes to graduate.

## 2. The Current Situation

26. 9. 90 (p.m.) Excerpt from Student Transcript

Scenario : The Resource room during recess. Peter is with 6 other male students, including Dale, Daniel and Norton. Mrs Wakeman, a Special Services assistant, is in the room on recess duty. The student group is involved in a makeshift game of basketball, using an empty shelf in a cupboard as the net. The 'game' progresses for several minutes until Norton sits

out and is joined by Dale. Peter continues the 'game' with Daniel. The conversations are made partly inaudible by a radio, which remains switched on throughout. PG is seated at a workstation and is only briefly acknowledged by the students.

Peter: C'mon you guys.

Daniel: Yeah.

(They continue playing. Norton and Dale remain seated.)

Peter: Hey, dorks, c'mon. There's a game going on.

(After a few moments the basketball players cease their activity and approach the two students who are presently talking with Mrs Wakeman. daniel switches on the television and flicks it from channel to channel. He finally leaves it switched on, but it remains untuned to a channel)

(A conversation regarding an incident with the police has already begun : there is no transcript record of the early part of this conversation)

Norton: they.....comes round the the.....corner and he ran off into the Meadows. They were.....by the cut off. And they gave chase by foot.

Peter: Once he's in the Meadows he's safe, man. The cops are still lost in there.

Norton: You know.

(At this stage PG notices that Dale has fallen asleep in a big chair)

Daniel: Hey, man....they'd bust him for it, man.

Mrs W: Say, you guys. What's all this action ? How come I don't get to hear about it ? What's going on ?

Norton: Ah.....nothin'

(He walks away)

Peter: Just some fool thing goin' on.

Mrs W: You gang are always into some fool thing.....but it's never school, huh ?

Daniel : School's no big deal. It's just there. This is action, man. Huffs don't come to school anyhow.

Mrs W: Huffmann left last year, thats why ?

Daniel: Nah, Huffmann's kid brother.....he's....dropped out of it.... even probation can't make him come here.

Peter: Probation can't make me either

Mrs W: Good morning Peter.....enjoy your nights rest ?

Peter: Okay

Mrs W: Anyway, you're here.....and doing alright from the things I hear said



Peter: Yeah, but that's for Ma and Pa. Not for you guys. You don't make me. Only teachers like Ferrens and Jacobs make it OK. 'cos they care.

Daniel: You don't make anyone, man.

Mrs W: But you come here too. There must be something going on here. How come you don't stay away ?

Peter: I just want to get out of here, man. There's nothing here for me. I come here because all the other guys are here and for Ma and Pa.....yeah...and I'll have a job soon so's I can sort things out for myself.

Mrs W: Well, not if you don't graduate.

Peter: Yeah, even if I don't graduate. I'll be OK. I'll sort things out. Shit, I don't need all this stuff. There's not one of you guys here who does things for me.....man. Like, they're always saying we're in this together and then we....get bullshit and all....when we make some suggestion.

(Norton returns to the group, switching off the television on his way. He says nothing)

Mrs W : In any case, you'll be OK. And you'll graduate too....if you work at it....you know....get those papers in. Your grades are alright, Peter. Say....anyway....you would do really well.

Daniel: He won't. He's a dork. He ain't got it. Like all of us. We all ain't got it..... They know that.

Peter: That's right.

Daniel: But you ain't got it more than me guy.

Peter: Suck it (He pushes Daniel)

Daniel: Hey....dork.....so you ain't got it (laughs)

(At this point the buzzer for the end of recess sounds. Daniel and Peter leave the area, both running. Peter says goodbye and he leaves too)

(6) WAYNE SHELLIN (d.o.b. 26.6.75)

1. Historical Background

Wayne Shellin attended Middlemead Elementary School before being enrolled at CVHS. He came from a family of one other sibling, a younger sister. Mrs Shellin was divorced, and although she remained in contact with Wayne's father the children had minimal contact.

The family lived in a small rented apartment close to the city centre. Mrs Shellin worked in a drugstore close by. At one point during her acrimonious divorce from her husband both children had been sent to live with a sister who lived in Portland.

At Middlemead Elementary School Wayne was described by the Principal, Mr Forgan, as 'a cheerful, hardworking student who seemed to get on well with teachers and classmates.....he was academically bright'. There was no apparent evidence of any problem behaviours.

In his first year at CVHS Wayne had seemed to maintain this progress. There were no written reports of unacceptable behaviour, and teachers could not recall him being a focus for concern. There were three incidents when Wayne was in the 7th Grade which were documented on Wayne's student record. Two of these involved classroom disputes with teachers, and the second of these resulted in Wayne being placed on ISS for a brief period. A third offence breached the SDC when Wayne was found in possession of a knife whilst on the school premises.

During the 8th Grade Wayne seemed to be more settled at CVHS. His student file contains only one reference to problem behaviour (the theft of a video tape and earphones from a media-study area in which he was implicated). But a number of teachers (Mr. Silverino, Mrs. Wietz and Mr. De Leon) verbally commented negatively about him : 'he will always be near to where the troubles at...it is sometimes noticeable how an atmosphere of confrontation enters the class when he's around'(Mr. Silverino).

There followed a series of incidents during the 9th Grade. Wayne appeared to become increasingly disenchanted with school, and he truanted on several occasions. Furthermore, there was growing evidence of quite open conflict between Wayne and at least two other teachers (Mr. May & Mr. De Leon). Reporting one incident, Mr. May wrote on a discipline form that 'Wayne is becoming a persistent source of annoyance to me and a lot of his class

mates. He uses his brightness as a weapon against me, always coming up with cute comments when I attempt to reprimand him'.

It was whilst Wayne was in the 9th Grade that he was involved in the most serious incident recorded on his student record. On that occasion he was referred to the Resource Room (ISS) for three weeks because of an alleged assault on a teacher, Mr. Dolwin, in a Mathematics class. Although some facts are unclear what is apparent is that Wayne was witnessed to barge Mr. Dolwin across a work table in running out of the class, audibly saying 'Move, fucker I'm not staying here'.

During this time Mrs Shellin has had minimal contact with the school, although a number of letters to her remain on Wayne's student file. At the present time Wayne attends the Resource Room (ISS) for 6 sessions each week (during Mathematics, General Science and Social Studies). On several occasions he has attended the Resource Room (ISS) unofficially : it is unclear how such actions have been dealt with.

## 2. The Current Situation

12.9.90 (p.m) Excerpt from Student Transcript

Scenario : Lunchtime in the Grade 10 Hall. Students are engaged in various social activities : talking, listening to music, playing cards and reading. Some are copying assignments. I am seated with Mrs Le Schon, a music teacher, who is on Recess Duty. Four students are leaning against a wall a small distance away. The group includes two students, Wayne and Ray, who have been identified as disruptive. Diary notes relating to their discussion are only partially complete because background noise made sections of it inaudible (this is marked -----in the following excerpt). The extract has been included to illustrate the social context of discussions by the disruptive students of school-focused issues.

Wayne: I want to be-----entertained man. Teachers should liven it up.

Student: You're always creating about stuff like that-----when it comes to it-----

Wayne: Dolwin doesn't understand guys like me, though-----and pressing me to do the stupid work.

Roy: Yeah, it's all the same where they're concerned.

Wayne: -----alright-----they laugh a bit and then you get through. Then it's not too bad, man.

Roy: Yeah, a laugh gets us through most-----

Student: You guys don't come here to laugh and-----

Roy : We do, and we -----because there doesn't seem to be any point in learning this shit.

Wayne: It's boring. I don't care about all that stuff-----

Student: School's always been boring, man. You-----expect it to be that.

Wayne: -----if all the teachers were fair, like Laurie, then I'd be OK.

Roy: But-----you'll never change creeps like Templeman....they just don't respect us.

Student: If you respect them, they respect you.

Roy: Which-----is coming first, man ? I can't see that, no way.

(Several students join this small group now. I am unable to make sense of the next part of this transcript).

## **APPENDIX H(i) : TEACHERS' STATEMENTS (RIBBLESIDE HIGH SCHOOL)**

### **1. The Curriculum and its Delivery**

There are two or three pupils in each form who seem to insist on preventing you from getting anything done with the class.

I have most difficulty with 4x, and particularly with Crossley, will do anything but get on with the work they're supposed to be doing.

The school management expect us to be able to cope with large classes and with individuals who just don't want to know about learning.

I am very worried about what will happen when the full implications of the National Curriculum hit us....what will happen to these kids then ?

I sometimes feel sorry for them and try to help. But you know really that it's a losing battle.

I would like to get to know these pupils in a more neutral environment than my classroom, where the pressures of working for others is so great.

Some of Year 5 are just out to wreck everything you try to do.

I have tried to make things interesting, but it's always the same group of kids, usually boys, who will prevent any real work being done.

I think it would help if they were given more teaching on basic skills like literacy and numeracy.

I'd like more time in my class to be able to support these kids....I do know that they've got many problems and come from very poor backgrounds.

There have been occasions in the past when I've been trying to do some work with a group and it's got to a point where I've thought 'this is useless' and just sat there.

Some of these lads, called 'disruptive' are able to say that they don't get on with their teacher - and that's an excuse for getting out of a lesson.....supposing I were to say that I didn't want to teach them because The Head is really going to have to do something about the situation because having so many disruptive pupils in your class will cause standards to fall.If they don't want to learn then I'm not prepared to teach them. I didn't get on with them ?

I sometimes feel that all my lesson planning is worthless because I can't even begin to relate to pupils like Styles and Micklewhite.

With a single exception I am able to cope well with all of my classes, and hopefully Chris will be referred to the sanctuary soon.

Tuesday is my worst day, when I have two fourth year and one fifth year groups.....there are a lot of trouble-makers there and I know that I'm not going to be able to get through all that I want to.

I can't teach David and boys like him anything.

I always teach better when Thornton. Crossley and Walker are not in the class : they're born troublemakers.

My honest opinion is that we ought to sift out the disruptive ones and refer them to the sanctuary full-time....at least that way the other kids could do some work.

His interest in Science is virtually nil....he has paid very little attention to what is said or done.

Latterly he has actually been quiet and done a little work.

His prospects of succeeding in public exams are, in my opinion, zero.

.....finds it difficult to settle down in lessons and because of this he is unable to produce any acceptable work at all.

I think he will do well if he can settle down and concentrate on his work.

Time and time again he does hardly any work.

.....is wasting my time, his time and the other pupils' time.

I think he can work if he wants to and he does have some ability in this subject.

Most of those lads rarely do any homework, they produce no written work of any description....you often wonder why they come to school in the first place.

Senior management are in cloud cuckoo land when it comes to the reality have to teach something like French to a kid like....yet they continue to insist on it.

Some things have changed for the better with our more difficult kids, like some of the vocational courses...they can see the point in that you see.

I can honestly say that.....and.....have learnt nothing at all in the 18 months that I've been teaching them.

Mrs.....and the staff in the sanctuary seem to have the knack....I don't know how they do it but I don't think I could do that job.

Some of them simply refuse to work and you run the risk of a power struggle in front of the whole class.

I won't have louts like that anywhere near my room....there's too much valuable equipment there and I've seen them wreck stuff before.

Just when I think I've got through to him something will blow up and work will go out of the window.

You can sense as soon as they come in that it's going to be a difficult class and that you're going to struggle to get some work done.

I tend not to have difficulty....but then you don't in my kind of subject.

## **2. Personal and professional qualities of teachers**

Basically you just try to do your job.

Sometimes I find myself being really provoked, especially by one group that I have in the fourth year.

We try to make sure we stick together....it's like a war with them sometimes.

I don't think we've got the system right at all....there's too much room for some kids to exploit and once that happens they think they can get away with murder.

I know I'm not the best teacher in the world but I really do try for those kids....and I feel that I'm being slapped in the face when things go wrong.

The school has got a set of rules but unless we all stick to them there are certain pupils who will think that they can walk all over you.

I think we need to be a lot more supportive of each other....often someone is having difficulty with one or two very disruptive kids and they have no-one to talk it over with....I suppose you're just seen as a weak teacher if you can't control the kids.

The best thing to do is for two or three teachers to work on one of the kids at a time.....that way he really gets the message that we're watching out for him.

I find that I get a lot of support from other teachers...well most of them....and the deputies really back you up if you're having trouble with a kid.

Sometimes my pride means that I don't refer something on to a Year Head.

To me it seems that certain teachers in this place have just about given up with kids like that. But that only makes it harder for the rest of us.

I think as a staff we are pretty good at dealing with disruptive behaviour in this school.

I always check up who I'm doing a duty with....that way I know that if.....starts acting up I will be sure of help. It's satisfying to know that.

There are one or two teachers who I would refer to as 'weak' teachers, and they don't help matters because I'm sure the likes of Thornton or Barford get very confused about being handled like that.

The best plan is to have a set of rules and to stick to them.

There are strong teachers and weak teachers....I think disruptive kids respect you more if you stick to your guns.

A couple of teachers on the staff have got a knack with those kids.

Not all of my experiences with disruptive kids have been bad....I think they see me as a fairly approachable sort of person.

Disruptive pupils are usually pretty deviant in all sorts of ways.

The thing you should never do is start being reasonable with them....that's a recipe for disaster.

### **3. Interpretations of disruptive behaviour**

Typically he has shown gross indiscipline and wilful behaviour.

He is sullen, provocative and disobedient.

He delights in defying the teacher and disrupting the class.

Barford's behaviour is totally unacceptable. He talks non-stop and disrupts the whole class.....he is a negative influence on the class.He is truculent, noisy, far too mobile and attention seeking....that's what makes him a disruptive character.

He frequently behaves in a totally irresponsible manner with chemicals and I'm worried about not only his safety but that of the other pupils in the class.

One of them just went up to a second year and sprayed him in the face with an aerosol.....and he thought that he'd done nothing wrong and could get away with it.

He was playing cards during registration and he refused to hand them over so I referred the matter to a deputy head.

The initial reason for his referral was that he displayed provocative and disruptive behaviour within the class.

Increasingly he has found it necessary to antagonise other pupils and to be the focus of foolish behaviour.

He appears to be emotionally very immature, and tries to obtain attention by engaging in bizarre behaviour.

Not only has he fallen behind academically, but he is also in danger of becoming involved in criminal activity.

Thornton is a magnet for a deviant group in this school.

He was fighting with another boy on the corridor and extremely offensive and rude to me when I told him to go out.

Given this pupil's emotional difficulties, mother and son should return to psychotherapy.

That lad is a real problem....I told him to get his coat off and get into class and he just answered back with a load of abuse.

I don't think school's have changed much from when I was in them in the early '70's.

You're always going to get a certain amount of unacceptable behaviour wherever you go.

The worst type of disruptive pupil is the one who is not disciplined at home - but then that's most of them.

You generally know which group of kids are going to start messing about in your lesson because it's always the same ones.

Some of the pupils in this school can be pretty aggressive and you need to know what the groundrules are for dealing with that kind of behaviour.

You expect to get trouble with certain kids....you have this instinct for it.



There is a relatively small percentage of pupils who create difficulties for us - usually physical aggression, verbal abuse towards us and a general unwillingness to conform to the standards that we lay down.

#### **4. School organisation and ethos**

The referral system here is pretty efficient and we're able to detect the potential trouble-makers at an early stage.

The main areas of difficulty are with relatively small groups of fifth year pupils...I think many pupils are frightened of that bunch.

Discipline tends to be left to Year Heads and one of the deputies.

When an incident does happen you will generally find that you can pinpoint the likely source of the problem.

The school is a very ordered place in the main.

Most problems are dealt with quickly so that things don't really get out of hand

This school has benefitted because of the existence of its sanctuary.

None of our disruptive pupils involve themselves in the life of the school.

What you do find is that if a group of youngsters want to get something positive going like a tuck shop or a sponsored event there is a danger that the disruptives will muscle in and try to take advantage.

There are some days when there is an electric atmosphere in the school and you can feel the tension rising.

We have a set of very clear guidelines for pupil conduct and generally speaking the pupils respond admirably.

There is a school council where any of the pupils' grievances can be resolved.

Generally speaking I think its fair to say that this school is not what it used to be.

The ethos of a school comes very largely from the example set by the head : strictly between you and me we are unfortunate in that respect.

A large group of ordinary classroom teachers feel that they get very little support from the senior management.

We have a well developed and caring pastoral system.

Most of the kids enjoy coming to school : if you asked some of our problem kids I think deep down they'd say that they got something out of being here.

Over the past six or seven years I have seen colleagues become increasingly harrassed....some of it is the kids, but far more is down to the ridiculous pressure that we've been under.

Staff absences, which have been on the increase over the last few years, have done nothing to help deal with what is a chronic problem.

We have an open system of management : any one can come to me if they have a problem with a particular child.

Sometimes I think we suffer from being a big school, and our size gets in the way of effective action.

Far too much importance is placed on the pastoral side of the childrens' education.

The staff room is like a haven of sanity for a lot of us.

The decor is appalling, absolutely terrible.

We sometimes get visits from old pupils who will comment on how the place has changed.

The code of conduct is too complicated for the one's it concerns most.

There are usually far too many pupils on the corridor when they should be in lessons.

As soon as it rains the problem element come into their own.

We need to be much more vigorous in the way that we deal with the disruptive element in this place.

The buildings are in a run down state, so you can't really blame the pupils for not looking after them.

Too little emphasis is given to enforcing strong discipline.

I think that a small proportion of kids in this school get away with murder.

## **APPENDIX (ii) : TEACHERS' STATEMENTS (CLEARWATER VALLEY HIGH SCHOOL)**

### **1. The Curriculum and its Delivery**

We have above all to maintain an orderly learning environment.

We get a lot of essays turned in late - usually it's the same crowd. They've lost their way and some are on the verge of quitting school.

I've got some groups of students who seem very disinterested in anything that I try to do with them.

Some kids have been failing over a long period of time. It doesn't happen suddenly.

One of the main instructional problems is that we deal with homogeneous groups - teaching the low achiever in that context is virtually impossible.

I'm leaving this school because I can't really teach effectively when all my time is taken up with discipline problems. That might be overstating it, but I feel exhausted.

How can I get those kids to learn ? They didn't teach me that at College.

Sometimes the class goes OK and you think 'Wow, they're OK really.

Each minute of the Math class is punctuated by one kid asking another guy something. And most of the time it's nothing to do with the assignment.

Mostly we don't actually teach our problem kids. It's more a question of control.

'Disruptive students' aren't concerned about grades. So telling them that they're going to fail their assignment means nothing.

Teaching is an uphill battle where those students are concerned. The kids aren't interested and sometimes I think 'Hell, why should I be ?'

The students that we're talking about are those who aren't going to graduate because they see no point in study. It's not part of their culture.

What makes me angry is that I know that my efforts with the rest of the class suffer because of the time I spend with them.

Because I teach a kind of 'friendly' or student-orientated class (Art) I don't get a lot of acting out behavior over and above the usual stuff.

I guess to be honest I don't cope very well with students like that.

Those kind of students always fail to reach the targets I set. They're held back by their attitude mainly.

For a lot of kids Math and Science, important areas like that, is a big joke. They treat it as a rest period.

We are academically orientated. We don't cope too well with students who are out on a limb.

Some kids don't respond to the way that our programs are grade orientated.

## 2. Personal & Professional Qualities of Teachers

Every kid could do with a kick in the ass once in a while.

We've taken a lot of shit in the last few years. It's important that we stick together.

Teacher burnout is very high in the United States. I think it's quite bad in this District.....some of it is because of the pressure we soak up from disruptive students.

Some Faculty members don't follow the Code strictly enough....and I guess the students concerned know that.

Some Faculty seem very despondent...for the usual reasons : feeling undervalued and underpaid. And more bureaucracy.

We do have 3 or 4 Faculty who are consistently unable to enforce discipline. That makes the job for the rest of us much more difficult.

The education system has to take a lot of Society's slack. Look at the REI, for example (Regular Education Initiative). What will we be asked to do next ?

My background has been in industry. I can see here that there are a few Faculty who would not be able to hold down a job if this were in industry. They're so inefficient.

As a staff we divide into groups, as most places do. Those groups know how each other ticks, so to speak. And we do share our problems.....we have to because sometimes there are real big problems.

Some teachers here are really patient. Mrs Freidel for example. How can she work with students who are constantly on the move, constantly wanting attention. I just don't know.

Our ISS is very successful with disruptive students because of the personalities of those who organise it.

I think it's unfair that you should be judged by the conduct of ALL of your homebase students. I've got at least three who should be in special classes.

I don't think that the administrators down town ever appreciate that every time an incident happens it tightens the bow, makes us more stressed.

I'd say there are two Faculty who just can't control their class very well. I reckon most of us know that.

Some of us are more student orientated than others and seem to be able to get real close to problem kids.

If you asked all the staff they'd tell you that only experience helps you to work with the most disruptive students.

There's no one answer to what we do with disruptive students. But following the SDC is one answer....and at least those students respect you for holding out for those rules

There are a set of concerns that we debate every year as a Faculty. We always discuss discipline, and we all know that we are thinking of certain students when we do that.

I think that the school has a real commitment to working out problems which occur with students.

We could use extra teachers to deal exclusively with the demands of disruptive students. Some teachers are better at this than others, so it's no good getting anybody to do those kind of jobs.

Some of the processes that we teachers use with the guys out there are inhuman....well, that's a bit strong, but it does dehumanise them. And then we expect them to respect the system.....I mean....

### **3. Interpretations of Disruptive Behaviour**

I don't think we're the boss of the situation yet. The kids will behave badly if we continue to let them.

We have to make a stand against certain groups of students, otherwise they will walk all over us.

Most of the time the students who disrupt things are from the same small group.

A quiet word is usually enough to make sure that a rule is followed.

Sometimes I feel impotent at all the misbehaviour that goes on. The administration have lost sight of what it can be like in a classroom teaching situation.

We're in the front line regarding discipline. We need a strong system to survive.

We don't have too many students who could be termed a discipline problem in a formal sense.

When a student acts out we have a system which usually deals with him (sic) pretty effectively. Only about one case in ten goes to become a severe discipline problem.

Some staff are unaware of the realities out here. Students have become much more assertive in the last 7 or 8 years.

Some of the student body think that they own the school, and they sure do act like that sometimes.

My relationship with some students is very bad. But we've still got to teach those guys. I've still got to pretend that I care.

Some of the kids we work with have been at risk since 1st Grade. They're pretty.....dumb, you know. Disrupting the class is a way out for them.

One of the 9th Grade is in trouble every single day. Most of us try to understand what makes him do these things. It's not easy. Sometimes I think he's doing these things because of us.

By and large the students here are real good, hard working and the rest. They are very cooperative with us and remain on task in class with hardly any supervision.

There's an isolated minority who just won't comply with anything, like Wayne Shellin.

I know that things are pretty bad in some schools. Fortunately we don't have that real bad element who will just go right ahead and disrupt everything.

CVH is better than some inner urban schools. Our students fool around and cut class sometimes, but hell, who didn't?

Things have changed a lot. At one time you could give a bad guy a cuff on the ear and it would be all sorted....they accepted that situation.

I'd say that teachers can spot a disruptive student right from the word go.

I'd say we're dealing with a small group of students whose discipline in the home is non-existent. So it depends on the school to enforce some rules.

The thing that makes me feel bad is that when you talk to disruptive students they are sometimes very honest and they'll say 'Yeah, I know things aren't right'.

Some students' behaviour is just gross. And they really do expect to get away with it.....it's insane.

#### **4. School Organisation and Ethos**

This place is a bit of a pit. It does need investment.

We should only be making rules that we can enforce - otherwise the students will just go underground.

The school is generally very well organised and we have an acceptable disciplinary code.

We care about our students : we have a Resource Room and a Counselor to help them.

I think that we've got one hell of a commitment to the kids who come to us.

We have a good school here, and one in which Faculty share a common purpose.

The school does its best for the students. But it can't wholly compensate for problems in the home.

There is a split between the administrators and the classroom instructors. That really hurts our efforts to create a workable SDS.

I feel very stressed and frustrated working under these conditions.

In our school there is a procedure for everything. These procedures are sound, though occasionally a member of Faculty won't follow the guidelines and we'll have a problem....that's down to us, not them.

There are strong disciplinarians and weak disciplinarians. We need to make sure that we have a strong staff.

Disruptive students should be permanently removed. It would do the school good, and it would show the students that we mean business.

It can be chaotic. Sometimes you know it's going to be one of those days.

Not enough time is given over to formulating a relationship with parents. Good students have responsible and involved parents. The bad kids are in a limbo.

The school system is blamed for a lot of things in this country. Basically individuals are giving up on their kids and saying 'you handle it'.

I don't think we've explored all the possibilities with these kids. School is a negative place for some of them.

We have a settled....pretty neat working environment. The students get a good deal. I'd say that most of them are happy with that.

Things have changed a lot in the last few years. A lot of teachers are coming closer to burning out than before.

Some of the stress is related to discipline.

We get good leadership and support when it comes to the crunch.

I reckon we let parents have too much say in how their kid is disciplined in school....I mean, they kind of sit there and negotiate a punishment when it's the school's responsibility.

We need to be able to work out much earlier whether we're going to be able to work with certain students. I'd say that we all have an idea of the kind of kids we mean.

Compared to some, this school has got a lot of discipline problems.

When we meet as a Faculty there are always certain students whose name will come up in discussion.

We have to stick together, follow the SDC and make sure that we all agree to deal with the students in a certain way.

The school prides itself upon dealing with students as individuals - not just in terms of the curriculum either.

Without our SDC it would be impossible for any teaching to take place

We do suspend some students. But that's after a process where we try to work out, as a staff, how we can help that student.

I think that sometimes we get confused about why we're here. Like giving them breakfast....why do we do that ? Next thing is we'll give them a bed for the night.

The school is about meeting a students needs. So we're not just going to say it's about learning the curriculum. It's as much about learning for life.

In the last few years I'd say that the pressure has got greater. You're now expected to provide so much more for the students - now we're even providing breakfasts.....

We have an SDC, and I reckon it's a good one. If students can't follow it they shouldn't be here.

I rely a lot on my master-teacher. He sorts out a lot of the discipline stuff for me. I'll have to do that for myself soon, and I sometimes wonder if I'll cope with it all.

You look up to some teachers because they never have trouble. But it's no good copying them because they've known the kids for a long time and there seems to be a lot of trust.

Most of the students here will work on task in class. There are a few groups that you have to be firm with, otherwise they'll run the class for you.

## **APPENDIX J : MISCELLANEOUS DATA (RHS & CVHS)**

### **(1) Notes from interview with Senior Inspector, Special Educational Needs**

Schools in this Authority respond in a variety of ways to the demands placed on them by disruptive pupils. Central to these responses, however, is the policy of meeting the individual needs of all pupils. So in a way we have to balance what is good for the disruptive pupil with the requirements of the rest of the school population. Don't forget we are dealing with a very small section of the total number of schoolchildren.

It is a balancing act, really. We are constantly under pressure from teachers, education officials and parents to deal with discipline problems in schools, so we have to be seen to be proactive.

Most of our provision is concentrated in 'off-site' centres : the school you're looking at is an exception, and we are still awaiting the results of the findings of a Review Panel concerning the effectiveness of each strategy.

Ultimately, though, we are at a time where financial constraints and pressures from various sources are at an all-time high. So it may be true to say that part of our provision is increasingly going to be pragmatic in respect of these.

### **(2) Notes from interview with Mr. Farmer, Headteacher of RHS**

Our 'on-site' unit for the disruptive pupils, the first of its kind in the Authority, is an integral part of the school's strategy for dealing with such pupils. But we use it caefully.....we don't send pupils there at the drop of a hat.....a lot of negotiation goes on before that stage is reached.

The staff here, and myself, regard disruptive behaviour as an important matter for consideration. We are inclined to try to pre-empt difficulties in this area before they actually arise.



The school has been very active in developments. The old 'off-site' unit for disruptive pupils led, I think, to a ghetto-like mentality by the pupils. The staff didn't expect much from them at all. Things had to change.....after all, integration is a very important aspect of special education, and rightly so.

About six years ago we set up the 'on-site' unit. It was a bit of an experiment. My staff wanted something to fall back on. In fact, the Staff Association around about that time actually went so far as to demand extra facilities for the disruptives.

In the light of all this I decided to have a look at the effectiveness of on-site provision. It has been very successful, in spite of the fact that a number of my staff doubted that such a move would be successful.

### (3) Notes from interview with School Board Superintendent

The goal of all schools is to meet each students needs within the school system. We set high expectations and recognise and reward student achievement.

This mission objective requires that we meet varied educational needs whilst at the same time maintaining a system which provides for excellence.

Our responsibility to the student who is 'at-risk' is reflected in the record of the School Board in this respect, in instigating or participating in a number of processes to meet the needs of this student group.

I think our success is partly reflected in the way in which voters are prepared to respond positively to levies. The school system is a major factor in the District's budget allocation, and we have received regular mandates for our policies.

Within this I am not forgetting the teachers. Recent events within the State have shown that work conditions (including job-related stress) is the prime consideration over salary. Conditions include problem behaviours by students in our schools.

### (4) Notes from interview with Mr. Deakins, Principal of CVHS

A school principal is always watched by his Faculty. They will respond to my judgement in a number of ways, but usually I will get their support. Of course, every school will have its

grumbles. Most of the time teachers here get on with the job. Fortunately we are a school in a small city, and we don't attract the problems of the big cities. So you could say we are under less stress.

The same is true for the student body. They are held in high regard by Faculty, and we think that we work cooperatively with most of them. There are exceptions and that is why all school systems need a formal discipline policy. There have been times when we've been glad of that. The students know what the rules are, what their position is, and respond to that.

I think that most principals are chosen because of their ability as managers and disciplinarians. A gifted instructor does not necessarily make an effective principal.

I lead my school from the front. I like to get out and about....to see things first hand. My teachers appreciate that and I think that the students do. I also think that I have to demonstrate confidence in all my staff and in the system that we operate, and also confidence in the students. An important way of showing this is by demonstrating, each school day, that everything counts.

Our system of discipline operates well. The students know what our expectations are, and know that transgression can be dealt with fairly and quickly. The ISS system is an effective way of monitoring problem students, and it acts as a buffer zone to school suspension.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ADAMS, R. (1991) Protests by Pupils, Basingstoke; Falmer.
- AINSCOW, M. & TWEDDLE, D. (1979) Preventing Classroom Failure, London; Methuen.
- ALACHUA COUNTY SCHOOLS (1975) Programs for the Emotionally Disturbed : A Handbook of Guidelines and Evaluative Data on Five Instructional Models, 1974-75, Gainesville; Alachua County Schools.
- ALGOZZINE, B. (1980) 'The Disturbing Child : A Matter of Opinion', Behavior Disorders, 5 (2), pp. 27-32.
- ALGOZZINE, B., SCHMID, R. & CONNORS, R. (1978) 'Towards an acceptable definition of emotional disturbance', Behavior Disorders, 4 (1), pp. 48-52.
- ALLEN-MEARES, P. (1985) 'Assessing behavior disorder in children : an eclectic approach', Social Work in Education, 7, pp. 100-113.
- ALLPORT, G. (1942) The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science, Social Science Research Council Bulletin 49. London; SSRC.
- AMATEA, E. (1987) 'Brief systemic interventions with school behavior', Psychology in the Schools, 25 (2), pp. 174-183.
- APTER, S. (1982) Troubled Children, Troubled Systems, New York; Pergamon.
- APTER, S. & CONOLEY, J. (1984) Childhood Behavior Disorders and Emotional Disturbance, Englewood Cliffs; Prentice Hall.
- ARIES, P. (1960) Centuries of Childhood, Harmondsworth; Penguin.
- ARNOLD, W. & LEVINE, D. (Eds.) Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, Lincoln; University of Nebraska Press.
- ARNOT, M. & BARTON, L. (Eds.) (1992) Voicing Concerns, Oxford; Triangle.
- ASHLEY COOPER, A. (1847) 'The Ragged Schools', Quarterly Review, 79, pp. 127-141.
- ATKINSON, P. & DELAMONT, S. (1980) 'The Two Traditions in Educational Ethnography : sociology and anthropology compared', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 1 (2), pp. 139-151.
- ATKINSON, P. & DELAMONT, S. (1990) 'Writing About Teachers : How British and American Ethnographic Texts Describe Teachers and Teaching', Teaching and Teacher Education, 6 (2), pp. 111-125.
- ATKINSON, P., DELAMONT, S. & HAMMERSLEY, M. (1988) 'Qualitative research traditions', Review of Educational Research, 58, pp. 231-250.
- AUSTIN, J. (1984) Prepared Statement for the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families.
- BACH, N. (1978) 'Selected Problems of Student Disruptive Behavior in the State of Wisconsin', Journal of International Association of Pupil Personnel Workers, 22 (3), pp. 161-171.
- BACHARACH, S. (1981) Organization Behavior in Schools and School Districts, New York; Praeger.
- BAILEY, T. & DINHAM, H. (1987) 'Establishing an on-site unit for secondary pupils who are considered to be disruptive in schools', Support for Learning, 2 (1), pp. 41-47.
- BAKER, K. (1985) 'Research Evidence of a School Discipline Problem', Phi Delta Kappan, 7 (66), pp. 482-488.
- BALDWIN, J. (1895) Mental development in the Child and the Race, New York; Praeger.
- BALL, S. (1981) Beachside Comprehensive, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.
- BALL, S. (1981) 'The sociology of education in developing countries' British Journal of Sociology of Education, 2, pp. 301-313.
- BALL, S. (1987) The Micro-Politics of the School, London; Methuen.
- BAN, J. (1985) 'School Discipline : In Pursuit of a System', High School Journal, 69 (1), pp. 6-11.

- BARNES, C. (1992) 'Qualitative Research : valuable or irrelevant ?', Disability, Handicap and Society, 7 (2), pp. 115-124.
- BARTON, L. (Ed.) (1988) The Politics of Special Educational Needs, Lewes; Falmer.
- BARTON, L. & MEIGHAN, R. (1979) Schools, Pupils and Deviance, Drifffield; Nafferton Books.
- BARTON, L. & TOMLINSON, S. (Eds.) (1981) Special Education : Policy, Practice and Social Issues, London; Harper & Row.
- BARTON, L. & TOMLINSON, S. (Eds.) (1984) Special Education and Social Interests, Beckenham; Croom-Helm.
- BARTON, L. & WALKER, S. (1984) Social Crisis and Educational Research, Beckenham; Croom Helm.
- BARTON, L. & WALKER, S. (Eds.) (1985) Education and Social Change, Beckenham; Croom-Helm.
- BASH, L., COULBY, D. & JONES, C. (1985) Urban Schooling, Eastbourne; Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- BATESON, G. (1972) Steps to an Ecology of Mind, New York; Chandler.
- BECK, L. & MUIA, J. (1980) 'The Portrait of a Tragedy : Research Findings the Drop Out', High School Journal, 67,
- BECKER, H. (1958) 'Problems of inference and proof in participant observation', American Journal of Sociology, 78 (6), pp. 1335-1359.
- BECKER, H. (1970) Sociological Work, Chicago; Aldine.
- BELL, J. (1979) 'Our Needs and Other Ecological Concerns : A Teacher's Personal View of working with Secondary School-Aged Seriously Emotionally Disturbed Children', Behavioral Disorders, 9 (2), pp. 153-162.
- BENHAM-TYE, R. (1985) Multiple Realities, Lanham; University Press of America.
- BERK, L., ROSE, M. & STEWART, D. (1970) 'Attitudes of English and American Children towards their School experience', Journal of Educational Psychology, 61 (1), pp. 33-40.
- BIOTT, C. (1991) Semi-Detached Teachers : Building Support and Advisory Relationships in Classrooms, Basingstoke; Falmer.
- BIRD, C., CHESSUM, R. FURLONG, V. & JOHNSON, D. (1981) Disaffected Pupils Uxbridge; Brunel University Press.
- BLEASE, D. (1983) 'Teacher Expectations and the Self-Fulfilling Prophecy', Educational Studies, 19 (2), pp. 123-129.
- BLISHEN, E. (Ed.) (1969) The school that I'd like, London; Thames & Hudson.
- BLUMER, H. (1965) 'The Sociological Implications of the Thought of George Herbert Mead', American Journal of Sociology, 71, pp. 535-544.
- BOLLEN, R. & HOPKINS, D. (Eds.) (1987) School-Based Review : Towards a Praxis, Leuven; ACCO.
- BOOTH, T. & STATHAM, J. (Eds) (1982) The Nature of Special Education : People, Places and Change, London; Croom-Helm.
- BORSAY, A. (1986) 'Personal Trouble or Public Issue ? Towards a policy for people with physical or mental disabilities', Disability, Handicap and Society, 1 (2), pp. 179-195.
- BOULDING, K. (1956) The Image, Ann Arbor; University of Michigan Press.
- BOURNE, W. (1870) History of the Public School Society of the City of New York, New York; City of New York.
- BOWLES, S. & GINTIS, H. (1976) Schooling in Capitalist America, New York; Basic Books.
- BOYER, L. (1983) High school : A Report on Secondary Education in America New York; Harper & Row.
- BRAATEN, S. (1979) 'The Madison Program : Programming for Secondary Level Severely Emotionally Disturbed Youth', Behavioural Disorders, 4 (2), pp. 153-162.
- BRACHT, G. & GLASS, G. (1968) 'The external validity of experiments', American Educational Research Journal, 5, pp. 437-474.
- BRONFENBRENNER, U. (1979) The Ecology of Human development, Cambridge; Harvard University Press.

- BROOKOVER, W., BEADY, C., FLOOD, F., SCHWEITZER, J. & WISENBACHER, J. (1979) School Social Systems and Student Achievement : Schools can make a Difference, New York; Praeger.
- BROPHY, J. (1982) 'Classroom organization and management', The Elementary School Journal, 82, pp. 265-285.
- BUIST, M. (1980) 'Truants talking', Scottish Educational Review, 12 (1), pp. 40-51.
- BULLIS, B. (1986) 'Dropout Prevention', Unpublished Paper, Stanford University.
- BULMER, M. (1979) 'Concepts in the analysis of qualitative data', Sociological Review, 27 (4), pp. 651-657.
- BURGESS, R. (Ed.) (1982) Field Research : A Sourcebook and Field Manual, Hemel Hempstead; Allen & Unwin.
- BURGESS, R. (1984) In the Field : An Introduction to Field Research, London: Unwin Hyman.
- BURGESS, R. (1984) 'Exploring frontiers and setting territory : Shaping the sociology of education', British Journal of Sociology, 35 (1), pp. 122-137.
- BURGESS, R. (Ed.) (1984) The Research Process in Educational Settings : Ten Case Studies, Lewes; Falmer.
- BYBEE, R. & GEE, E. (1982) Violence, Values and Justice in the Schools, Boston; Allyn & Bacon.
- CALVERT, B. (1975) The Role of the Pupil, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- CANTRELL, M. (1974) 'The Incidence of Children's Inappropriate Behavior as a Function of Skill/Demand Discrepancies', Mimeograph; Peabody College.
- CARMICHAEL, L. (Ed.) (1954) Manual of Child Psychology, New York; Wiley.
- CARNEGIE FORUM ON EDUCATION & THE ECONOMY (1986) A Nation Prepared teachers for the 21st. Century, Princeton; Carnegie Foundation.
- CARNELL, C. (1983) 'Disturbed Pupils Perceptions of the Personality Characteristics of their Teachers', Maladjustment & Therapeutic Education, 1 (1), pp. 22-25.
- CARRIER, J. (1983) 'Masking the social in educational knowledge : the case of learning disability theory', American Journal of Sociology, 88, pp. 948-974.
- CARRIER, J. (1989) 'Sociological Perspectives on Special education', New Education, 11 (1), pp. 21-31.
- CARROLL, J., KATZ, S., WATERS, C. & ZAREMBA, S. (1979) 'An Effective Model for Mainstreaming Emotionally Impaired Students', Paper presented to Annual Convention of Council for Exceptional Children, 1979.
- CARTWRIGHT, D. (1935) Field theory in social science : selected theoretical papers by Kurt Lewin, New York; Harper & Row.
- CASTELLS, M. (Ed.) (1985) High technology, space and society, Beverly Hills; Sage.
- CASTLE, E. (1958) Moral Education in Christian Times, London; Allen & Unwin
- CHAMBERS, J. & HARTMAN, W. (EDS.) (1983) Special Education Policies : Their History, Implementation & Finance, Philadelphia; Temple University Press.
- CHASE, C. (1982) '10,000 Students View Their High Schools', High School Journal, 1 (66), pp. 6-11.
- CHITTY, C. (1989) Towards a New education System : The Victory of the New Right, Lewes; Falmer.
- CHOBOT, R. & GARIBALDI, A. (1982) 'In-School Alternatives to Suspension : A Description of Ten District Programs', The Urban Review 14, pp. 317-337.
- CLARIZIO, H. (1987) 'Differentiating emotionally impaired from socially maladjusted students', Psychology in the Schools, 24 (2), pp. 237-243.
- CLARK, M. (1983) 'Reforming Special Education : A Comparative Study of the United States and Britain', Unpublished MA. Thesis, London; Institute of Education.
- CLARKE, D., PARRY-JONES, W., GAY, B. & SMITH, C. (1981) 'Disruptive Incidents in Secondary School Classrooms : A Sequence Analysis Approach', Oxford Review of Education, 7, pp. 111-117.
- CLEVELAND EDUCATION AUTHORITY (1978) Disruptive and Violent Behaviour in Schools, Middlesborough; Cleveland Local Education Authority.
- CENTER ON EVALUATION, DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH (1981) 'Practical Application of Research', Phi Delta Kappa, September, p.5.

- CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION (1963) Half Our Future (The Newsom Report), London; HMSO.
- COHEN, L. (1976) Education Research in Classrooms and Schools, London; Harper & Row.
- COHEN, S. (1972) Folk Devils and Moral Panics, London; Macgibbon & Kee.
- COLE, M. (Ed) (1988) Bowles and Gintis Revisited, Lewes; Falmer.
- COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, UNITED STATES SENATE (1976) School Violence and Vandalism : The Nature, Extent and Cost of Violence and Vandalism in Our Nation's Schools, Washington D.C.; U.S. Government Printing Office.
- COOPER, P. & UPTON, G. (1991) 'Controlling the urge to control : An ecosystemic approach to problem behaviour in schools' Support for Learning, 6 (1), pp. 22-25.
- COOPERSMITH, S. (1968) 'Studies in Self-Esteem', Scientific American, 218, February, pp. 96-106.
- CORCORAN, T., WALKER, L. & WHITE, J. (1988) Working in Urban Schools, Washington D.C.; I.E.L.
- COULBY, D. (1989) The Education Reform Act, London; Cassell.
- COULBY, D. & HARPER, T. (1985) Preventing Classroom Disruption, Beckenham; Croom-Helm.
- COULBY, D., JONES, C. & HARRIS, D. (1992) Urban Education, London; Kogan Page.
- CREEMERS, B., PETERS, T. & REYNOLDS, D. (1989) School Effectiveness and School Improvement, Amsterdam; Swets & Zeitlinger.
- CREMIN, L. (1951) The American Common School : An Historical Conception, New York; Columbia.
- CROSSLEY, M. & VULLIAMY, G. (1984) 'Case Study Research Methods and Comparative Education', Comparative Education, 20 (2), pp. 193-207.
- CULLEN, F. & TINTO, V. (1975) 'A Mertonian analysis of school deviance', Paper to AERA Conference, Washington D.C.
- CULLINAN, D., EPSTEIN, M. & KAUFFMAN, J. (1984) 'Teachers' Ratings of Students' Behaviors : What constitutes Behavior Disorder in School?', Behavior Disorders, 10 (1), pp. 9-19.
- CUMBRIA COUNTY COUNCIL (1976) No small Change : The Report of a Working Party on Problem Children in Schools, Carlisle; Cumbria Education Committee.
- CUSICK, P. (1983) The Egalitarian Ideal and the American High School, New York; Longman.
- DALE, R. (1981) Politics, Patriarchy and Practice, Lewes; Falmer.
- DALIN, P. (1978) Limits to Educational Change, London; Macmillan.
- DAVIES, C. (Ed.) (1980) Rewriting Nursing History, Beckenham; Croom-Helm.
- DAVIES, L. (1984) Pupil Power : Deviance and Gender in School, Lewes; Falmer.
- DAWSON, R. (1984) 'Disturbed Pupils Perception of their Teachers Support and Strictness', Maladjustment & Therapeutic Education, 2 (2), pp. 24-27.
- DEAL, T. & NOLAN, R. (1978) Alternative Schools : Ideologies; Realities; Guidelines, Chicago; Nelson-Hall.
- DELAMONT, S. & ATKINSON, P. (1980) 'The Two traditions in Educational Ethnography : sociology and anthropology compared', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 1 (2), pp. 139-152.
- DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1975) Survey of Violence, Indiscipline in Schools, London; HMSO.
- DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1985) Better Schools, London; HMSO.
- DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1987) Behaviour and Discipline in Schools (Education Observed, 5), London; HMSO.
- DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION & SCIENCE (1989) Discipline in Schools (The Elton Report), London; HMSO.
- DE CECCO, J. & RICHARDS, A. (1974) Growing Pains : The Uses of School Conflict, New York; Aberdeen Press.
- DE LAUWE, P. (1952) Paris et l'Agglomeration Parisienne, Paris; Mouton.

- DE RIDDER, L. (1990) 'The Impact of School Suspension and Expulsion on Dropping Out', Educational Horizons, 68 (3), pp. 153-155.
- DESSENT, T. (1988) Making Ordinary Schools Special, Lewes; Falmer.
- DEWEY, J. (1938) Experience and Education, New York; Macmillan.
- DOCKING, J. (1987) Control and Discipline in Schools, London; Harper.
- DOWLING, E. & OSBORNE, E. (Eds.) The Family and the School, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- DOWNES, D. & ROCK, P. (Eds.) (1979) Deviant Interpretations, London; Robertson.
- DUNN, L. (1968) 'Special education for the mildly retarded — is much of it justifiable?', Exceptional Children, April, pp. 469-473.
- DYSON, A. (1985) 'A curriculum for the Educated Man', British Journal of Special Education, 12 (3), pp. 138-139.
- EDELBROCK, C. (1979) 'Empirical Classification of Children's Behavior Disorders: Progress based on Parent and Teacher Ratings', School Psychology Digest, 8 (4), pp. 355-369.
- EDMONDS, R. (1979) 'Effective Schools for the Urban Poor', Educational Leadership, 37, pp. 15-24.
- ELLISON, W. (1973) 'School Vandalism: 100 Million Dollar Challenge', Community Education Journal, 3, pp. 27-33.
- EPSTEIN, J. & McPARTLAND, J. (1978) Quality of School Life: Administration and Technical Manual, Boston; Houghton Mifflin.
- EPSTEIN, M., CULLINAN, D. and SABATINO, D. (1977) 'State definitions of behavior disorders', Journal of Special Education, 2 (11), pp. 417-425.
- ESSEN, J. & WEDGE, P. (1982) Continuities in Childhood Disadvantage, London; Heinemann.
- EVANS, M. (1981) Disruptive Pupils, London; Schools Council.
- EVERHART, R. (1983) Reading, Writing and Resistance: Adolescence and Labor in a Junior High School, New York; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- EVERHART, R. (1987) 'Understanding Student Disruption and Classroom Control', Harvard Educational Review, 57 (1), pp. 77-83.
- EYSENCK, H. (1979) 'The Origins of Violence', Journal of Medical Ethics 5, pp. 105-107.
- FARRIS, R. & DUNHAM, H. (1939) Mental Disorders in Urban Areas, Chicago; University of Chicago Press.
- FILLING, C. (1980) 'Prospects for an Ethnographic Approach to Urban Education', Urban Education, 15 (3), pp. 259-277.
- FINE, G. & GLASSNER, B. (1986) 'Participant observation with children: promises and problems', Urban Life, 8 (2), pp. 153-174.
- FINE, M. (1986) 'Why Urban Adolescents Drop into and Out of Public High School', 87 (3), Teachers College Record, pp. 393-409.
- FINLAYSON, D. & LOUGHRAN, J. (1978) 'Pupils' perceptions of high and low delinquency schools', Educational Research, 18 (2), pp. 138-145.
- FORD, J., MONGON, D. & WHELAN, M. (1982) Special Education and Social Control: Invisible Disasters, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- FORNESS, S. (1985) 'Effects of public policy at State level: California's impact on MR, LD and ED categories', RASE, 6 (3), pp. 36-43.
- FOSTER, G., YSSELDYKE, J. & REESE, J. (1975) 'I Wouldn't Have Seen It If I Hadn't Believed It', Exceptional Children, April, pp. 469-473.
- FRASER, S. (1964) Jullien's Plan for Comparative Education 1816-1817, New York; Teachers College, Columbia University.
- FRASER, S. & BRICKMAN, W. (Eds.) (1968) A History of International and Comparative education. Nineteenth Century Documents, Glenview; Scott Foresman & Company.
- FREIRE, P. & SHOR, I. (1987) A Pedagogy for Liberation, Basingstoke; Macmillan Educational.
- FRUDE, N. & GAULT, H. (Eds.) (1984) Disruptive Behaviour in Schools, Chichester; Wiley.

- FULCHER, G. (1989) Disabling Policies ? A comparative approach to education policy and disability, London; Falmer.
- FULCHER, G. (1990) 'Students with special needs : lessons from comparisons', Journal of Education Policy, 5 (4), pp. 347-358.
- FURLONG, V. (1985) The Deviant Pupil, Milton Keynes; Open University Press.
- GALLETLEY, I. (1985) 'Vocationalism Must Come First', British Journal of Special Education, 12 (4), pp. 140-141.
- GALLOWAY, D. (1980) 'Exclusions and expulsions from school', Trends in Education, 2, pp. 37-38.
- GALLOWAY, D. (1985) Schools, Pupils and Special Educational Needs, Beckenham; Croom-Helm.
- GALLOWAY, D. & GOODWIN, C. (1987) The Education of Disturbing Children, New York; Longman.
- GALLUP, G. (1975) 'Seventh Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Towards the Public Schools', Phi Delta Kappan, 4 (57), pp. 227-241.
- GALWAY, J. (1979) 'What pupils think of special education', Comprehensive Education, 39, pp. 18-20.
- GERMAIN, C. (1978) 'General systems theory and ego psychology : An ecological perspective', Social Work Review, 52, pp. 535-550.
- GETZELS, J. & SMILANSKY, J. (1983) 'Individual differences in pupil perceptions of school problems', British Journal of Educational Psychology, 53, pp. 307-316.
- GILLHAM, B. (Ed.) (1978) Reconstructing Educational Psychology, Beckenham; Croom-Helm.
- GILLHAM, B. (Ed.) (1981) Problem Behaviour in the Secondary School, Beckenham; Croom-Helm.
- GITTUS, E. (1972) Key Variables in Social Research, London; Heinemann.
- GLASER, B. & STRAUSS, A. (1967) The Discovery of Grounded Theory, Chicago; Aldine.
- GLEESON, D. (1977) Identity and Structure : Issues in the Sociology of Education, Driffield; Nafferton Books. pp. 28-43.
- GOACHER, B., EVANS, J., WELTON, J. & WEDELL, K. (1988) Policy and Provision for Special Educational Needs : Implementing the 1981 Education Act, London; Cassell.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1963) Stigma : Notes on the Management of Spoilt Identity, Englewood Cliffs; Prentice-Hall.
- GOOD, T. & BROPHY, J. (1987) Looking in Classrooms, New York; Harper & Row.
- GORDON, D. (1988) 'Education as Text : The Varieties of Educational Hiddenness', Curriculum Inquiry, 18 (4), pp. 425-449.
- GOSWAMI, D. & STILLMAN, P. (Eds.) (1987) Reclaiming the classroom : teacher research as an agency for change, Upper Montclair; Boynton/Cook.
- GRACE, G. (1978) Teachers, Ideology and Control : Studies in Urban Education, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- GRACE, G. (Ed.) (1984) Education and the City, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- GRAHAME, P. & JARDINE, D. (1990) 'Deviance, Resistance and Play : A Study of the Communicative Organization of Trouble in Class', Curriculum Enquiry, 20 (3), pp. 283-304.
- GRAZIANO, A. & RAULIN, M. (1989) Research Methods : A Process of Inquiry, New York; Harper & Row.
- GRIMWOOD, H. (1983) 'The Integration of Handicapped Children into Ordinary Schools : A Comparative Study of England and USA', Unpublished MA. London; Institute of Education.
- GROSENICK, J. & HUNTZE, S. (1980) National Needs Analysis in Behavior Disorders, Columbia; University of Missouri.
- GURNEY, P. (1988) Self Esteem in Children with Special Educational Needs, London; Routledge.
- GUTHRIE, J. & PIERCE, L. (1990) 'The International Economy and national educational reform : a comparison of education reforms in the United States and Great Britain', Oxford Review of Education, 16 (2), pp. 179-205.



- HAGGERTY, M. (1925) 'The incidence of undesirable behaviour in public-school children', Journal of Educational Research, 12, pp.102-122.
- HAHN, H. (1986) 'Public Support for Rehabilitation Programs : the analysis of US. disability policy', Disability, Handicap and Society, 1 (2), pp. 121-137.
- HALL, S. & JEFFERSON, T. (Eds.) (1976) Resistance Through Rituals, London; Hutchinson.
- HALSEY, A. (1972) Educational Priority Volume 1, London; HMSO.
- HAMMERSLEY, M. (1984) The Ethnography of Schooling : Methodological Issues, Driffeld; Nafferton Books.
- HAMMERSLEY, M. & WOODS, P. (Eds.) (1984) Life in School, Milton Keynes; Open University Press.
- HANUS, P. (1913) School Efficiency : a constructive study applied to New York City, Yonkers; World Books.
- HARGREAVES, D. (1982) The Challenge of the Comprehensive School, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- HARGREAVES, D., HESTOR, S. and MELLOR, F. (1975) Deviance in Classrooms, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- HARING, N. (1987) Assessing and Managing Behavior Disabilities, University of Washington; Seattle.
- HARPUR, W. (1899) The Report of the Educational Commission of the City of Chicago, Chicago; Lakeside Press.
- HARRE, R. (1979) Social Beings, Oxford; Blackwell.
- HARRE, R. & SECORD, P. (1972) The Explanation of Social Behaviour, Oxford; Blackwell.
- HARTNETT, A. & NAISH, M. (Eds.) (1986) Education and Society Today, Lewes; Falmer.
- HEGARTY, S. & POCKLINGTON, K. (1981) Educating Pupils with Special Needs in Ordinary Schools, Windsor; NFER-Nelson.
- HENNING, C. (1949) 'Discipline : Are School Practices Changing ? ', The Clearing House, XIII, pp. 267-270.
- HERRLITZ, W. & STURM, J. (1990) 'Ethnographic Research in the Field of Mother Tongue Education : What Can Be Learnt From IMEN', Monograph.
- HERRLITZ, W., KAMER, A., KROON, S., PETERSE, H. & STURM, J. (Eds) (1984) Mother Tongue Education in Europe, Enschede; SLO.
- HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTORATE (1979) Aspects of Secondary Education in England : a Survey by HM Inspectors of Schools, London; HMSO.
- HEWETT, F. & TAYLOR, F. (1980) The Emotionally Disturbed Child in the Classroom : The Orchestration of Success, Boston; Allyn & Bacon.
- HEYMAN, R. (1979) 'Comparative Education from an Ethnomethodological Perspective', Comparative Education, 15 (3), pp. 241-249.
- HIGDON, T. (1984) The Burston Rebellion, Eye; Suffolk Eye Press.
- HIGGINS, A. & PRIEST, S. (1990) 'Resolving conflicts between young people', Educational Psychology in Practice, 2 (6), pp. 417-425.
- HIGHFIELD, M. & PINSENT, A. (1952) A Survey of Rewards and Punishments in School, London; Newnes Educational Publishing.
- HOBBS, N. (1975) The Futures of Children, Sanfrancisco; Jossey-Bass.
- HOLLINGSWORTH, E., LUFLER, H. & CLUNE, W. (1984) School Discipline : Order and Autonomy, New York; Praeger.
- HOLMES GROUP (1986) Tomorrows Teachers, New York; The Holmes Group.
- HOUGHTON, S., WHELDALL, K. & MERRITT, F. (1988) 'Classroom Behaviour Problems which Secondary School Teachers say they find most Troublesome', British Educational Research Journal, 14 (3), pp. 297-310.
- HOWELL, F. & MCBROOM, L. (1982) 'Social relations at home and at school : An analysis of the correspondence principle', Sociology of Education 55(1), pp. 40-52.
- HUMPHRIES, S. (1981) Hooligans or Rebels ? An Oral History of Working Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939, London; Blackwell.
- HURLEY, L. (1981) 'Alternative Education : Another Way', NJEA Review, 54 (7), pp. 18-22.

- INNER LONDON EDUCATION AUTHORITY (1980) Disruptive Pupils, Report of the Chief Education Officer to the Schools Sub-Committee. London; ILEA.
- JARVIE, I. (1969) 'The problem of ethical integrity in participant observation', Current Anthropology, 10 (5), pp. 505-508.
- JOHNSTONE, M. & MUNN, P. (1987) Discipline in Schools, Edinburgh; SCRE.
- JONES, A. & KOLAR, M. (1989) 'Readers Comment on Education', The Education Digest, LV (1).
- JONES, E. (Ed.) (1971) Attribution : perceiving the causes of behavior, New York; General Learning Press.
- JONES, N. (Ed.) (1989) Special Educational Needs Review Volume 1, Lewes; Falmer
- KANNER, J. (1962) 'Emotionally Disturbed Children : A Historical Review', Child Development, 33, pp. 97-102.
- KARABEL, J. & HALSEY, A. (Eds.) (1977) Power and Ideology in Education, Oxford; Oxford University Press.
- KATZNELSON, I. & WEIR, M. (1985) Schooling for All, New York; Basic Books.
- KAUFFMAN, J. (1980) 'Where Special Education for Disturbed Children is Going : A Personal view', Exceptional Children, 46 (1), pp. 522-527.
- KAUFFMAN, J. (1985) 'Educating Children with Behavior Disorders', Special Education, pp. 249-270.
- KEDAR-VOIVODAS, G. & TANNENBAUM, A. (1979) 'Teachers' Attitudes Toward Young Deviant Children', Journal of Educational Psychology, 71 (6), pp. 800-808.
- KIRP, D. (1977) 'Law, politics and equal educational opportunity : the limits of judicial involvement', Harvard Educational Review, 47, pp. 117-137.
- KIRP, D. & JENSEN, D. (Eds.) (1986) School Days, Rule Days, Philadelphia, Falmer.
- KROON, S. & STURM, J. (1988) Research on Mother Tongue Education in an International Perspective, Enschede; VALO-M.
- KUPER, A. (1973) Anthropology and Anthropologists : The British School, 1922-1972, London; Allen & Lane.
- KYRIACOU, C. & ROE, H. (1988) 'Teachers' Perceptions of Pupils' Behaviour Problems at a Comprehensive School', British Educational Research Journal, 14 (2), pp. 167-173.
- LANE, D. (1990) The Impossible Child, Stoke-on-Trent; Trentham Books.
- LAWRENCE, J., STEED, D. & YOUNG, P. Dialogue on Disruptive Behaviour : A Study of a Secondary School, London; PJP.
- LAWRENCE, J., STEED, D. & YOUNG, P. (1984) Disruptive Children - Disruptive Schools ?, Beckenham; Croom-Helm.
- LEACH, D. (1977) 'Teachers' Perceptions and "problem pupils"', Educational Review, 29, pp. 188-203.
- LE COMPTE, M. & GOERTZ, J. (1982) 'Ethnographic data collection in evaluation research', Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 4, pp. 387-400.
- LEVINE, D. & HAVIGHURST, R. (1989) Society and Education, Boston; Allyn & Bacon.
- LEWIN, K. (1938) The conceptual representation and the measurement of psychological forces, Durham; Duke University Press.
- LEWIN, P., NELSON, R. & TOLLEFSON, N. (1983) 'Teachers' Attitudes toward Disruptive Students', Elementary School Guidance and Counselling, 17 (1), pp. 188-193.
- LIPSET, S. (1971) Rebellion in the University : A History of Student Activism in America, Boston; Little, Brown & Company.
- LIVERPOOL EDUCATION COMMITTEE (1974) The Suspended Child : Teachers Advisory Committee Report, Liverpool; Liverpool Education Committee.
- LLOYD SMITH, M. (Ed.) (1984) Disrupted Schooling, London; John Murray.
- LOWENSTEIN, L. (1972) Violence in Schools and its Treatment, Hemel Hempstead; NAS/UWT.
- LOWENSTEIN, L. (1975) Violent and Disruptive Behaviour in Schools, Hemel Hempstead; NAS/UWT.
- LUBBE, T. (1986) 'Some Disturbed Pupils' Perceptions of their Teachers',

- Maladjustment & Therapeutic Education, 4 (1), pp. 29-35.
- LUNENBURG, F. & SCHMIDT, L. (1989) 'Pupil Control Ideology, Pupil Control Behavior and the Quality of School Life', Journal of Research and Development in Education, 22 (4), pp. 36-44.
- LYNCH, C. (1989) The Hidden Curriculum : Reproduction in Education. A Reappraisal, Basingstoke: Falmer.
- MacBEATH, J. & THOMSON, B. (1992) 'The threefold path to enlightenment', Times Educational Supplement, 5 June.
- McGINNIS, E., KIRALY, J. & SMITH, C. (1984) 'The Types of Data used in identifying Public School Students as Behaviorally Disordered' Behavior Disorders, 4 (2), pp. 239-246.
- MALONE, G. (1991) 'Special needs forever !', Support for Learning, 6 (1), p. 15.
- MANN, H. (1843) Seventh Annual Report to the Massachusetts State Board of Education.
- MAROTTO, R. (1978) 'Posin' to be Chosen : An Ethnographic Study of Ten Lower Class Black Male Adolescents in an Urban high School', Ed.D. Dissertation. Buffalo; University of New York.
- MASLOW, A. (1954) Motivation and Personality. New York; Harper & Row.
- MATZA, D. (1969) Becoming Deviant, Englewood Cliffs; Prentice Hall.
- MAY, D. & HUGHES, D. (1987) 'Organizing Services for People with Mental Handicap : the Californian Experience', Disability, Handicap and Society, 2 (3), pp. 213-230.
- MAXWELL, W. (1987) 'Teachers' Attitudes Towards Disruptive Behaviour in Secondary Schools', Educational Review, 39 (3), pp. 203-216.
- MAYHEW, H. (1851) London Labour and the London Poor, London; Griffin Bohn.
- MEARES, L. (1986) 'What progress for disabled people ?', ASW Impact, December, pp. 6-8.
- MEHAN, H. & WOOD, H. (1975) The Reality of Ethnomethodology, New York; John Wiley.
- MEIGHAN, R. (1977) 'The pupil as client : the learners experience of schooling', Educational Review, 29, pp. 123-135.
- MEIGHAN, R. (1978) 'A pupil's eye view of teaching performance', Educational Research, 30, pp. 18-20.
- MEISEL, C. (Ed.) (1986) Mainstreaming Handicapped Children : Outcomes, Controversies and New Directions, Hillsdale; Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- MERTON, R. (1938) 'Social Structure and Anomie', American Sociological Review, 3, pp. 672-682.
- METCALF, A. & HUMPHRIES, M. (Eds.) 1985) Sexuality of Men, London; Pluto.
- MILLS, C. (1940) 'Situating actions and vocabularies of motives', American Sociological Review, 5, pp. 904-913.
- MISCHLER, E. & WAXLER, N. (1968) Interaction in Families : An Experimental Study of Family Processes in Schizophrenia, New York; Wiley.
- MITCHELL, D. & GOERTZ, M. (Ed.) (1990) Education Politics for the New Century, Basingstoke; Falmer.
- MITCHELL, S. & SHEPPARD, M. (1966) 'A comparative study of children's behaviour at home and at school', British Journal of Educational Psychology, 36, pp. 248-254.
- MOHANTY, J. (1970) The Concept of Intentionality, New York; Warren H.Green.
- MOLES, O. (Ed.) (1990) Student Discipline Strategies. Albany; State University of New York Press.
- MONGON, D. & HART, S. (1989) Improving Classroom Behaviour : New Directions for Teachers and Pupils. London; Cassell.
- MONTGOMERY, D. (1989) Managing Behaviour Problems. London; Hodder & Stoughton.
- MORTIMORE, P. & BLACKSTONE, T. (1982) Disadvantage and Education. London; Heinemann.
- MORTIMORE, P., DAVIES, J., VARLAAM, A. & WEST, A. (1983) Behaviour Problems in Schools, London; Croom-Helm.

- MURPHY, J. & HALLINGER, P. (1985) 'Effective high schools - what are the common characteristics?', NASSP Bulletin, 69 (477), pp. 18-22.
- MURTAUGH, M. & ZEITLIN, A. (1989) 'How serious is the motivation problem in secondary special education?', The High School Journal, LXXII, February/March.
- NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLMASTERS/UNION OF WOMEN TEACHERS (1981) Discipline or Disorder in Schools : a Disturbing Choice, Birmingham; NAS/UWT.
- NATIONAL COMMISSION ON EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE (1983) A Nation At-Risk, Washington D.C.; U.S. Government Printing Office.
- NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (1956) 'Teacher Opinion on Pupil Behavior 1955-56', NEA research Bulletin, XXXIV, April.
- NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION (1978) Violent Schools. Safe Schools, The Safe Schools Study Report to Congress, Vol. 1. Washington D.C.; NIE.
- NATRIELLO, G. (Ed.) (1986) School Dropouts : Patterns and Policies, New York; Teachers College Press.
- NELSON, P., RUTHERFORD, R., CENTER, D. & WALKER, H. (1991) 'Do Public Schools Have an Obligation to Serve Troubled Children and Youth', Exceptional Children, March, pp. 406-415.
- NEWCOMER, P. (1980) Understanding and Teaching Emotionally Disturbed Children, Boston; Allyn & Bacon.
- NORTH WEST REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL LABORATORY (1990) 'At Risk Youth', NWREL Bulletin, July/August, Oregon; NWREL.
- O'HAGAN, F. & EDMUNDS, G. (1982) 'Pupils' attitudes towards teachers' strategies for controlling disruptive behaviour', British Journal of Educational Psychology, 52 (2), pp. 331-340.
- OLIVER, M. (1985) 'The Integration-Segregation debate : some sociological considerations', British Journal of Sociology, 6 (1), pp. 75-92.
- PALMER, V. (1928) Field Studies in Sociology : a Student's Manual, Chicago; University of Chicago Press.
- PAYNE, R. (1979) 'Who Runs This Chicago High School', Integrated Education, 17 (1), pp. 9-14.
- PELLEGRINI, A. (1991) Applied Child study : A Developmental Approach, Hillsdale; Erlbaum.
- POLLARD, A. (1981) 'Coping with deviance; school processes and their implications for social reproduction', Unpublished PhD. Thesis; University of Sheffield.
- POLLARD, A. (1982) 'A model of classroom coping strategies', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 3 (1), pp. 19-37.
- PONS, V. (1969) Stanleyville : An African Community under Belgian Administration, London; Oxford University Press.
- POPEIL, P., HOLLINGER, J., LOSCHI, G. & CRAWFORD, D. (1983) 'A Sociometric Approach to Understanding Interpersonal Relationships in a Classroom for Emotionally Disturbed Pupils', The Pointer, 27 (3), pp. 5-12.
- POPPLETON, P., DEAS, R., PULLIN, R. & THOMPSON, D. (1987) 'The experience of teaching in 'disadvantaged' areas in England and the USA', Comparative Education, 23 (3), pp. 303-315.
- PRESSEISEN, B. (1985) Unlearned Lessons, Lewes; Falmer.
- PUCINSKI, R. (1970) 'Results of Survey on Student Unrest in the Nation's Schools', Congressional Record, 23 February, pp. 4446-8.
- RAISER, L. & VAN NAGEL, C. (1980) 'The Loophole in Public Law 94-142', Exceptional Children, 46 (7), pp. 516-520.
- RAYMOND, J. (1987) 'An Educational Psychologist's Intervention with a Class of Disruptive Pupils Using Pupil Perceptions', Educational Psychology in Practice, 3 (2), pp. 16-22.
- REINERT, H. (1980) Children in Conflict, St. Louis; Mosby.
- REYNOLDS, D. (1985) Studying School Effectiveness, Lewes; Falmer.
- RHODES, W. & HOBBS (1978) Educating Children with Behavior Problems, New York; Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

- RHODES, W. & TRACY, M. (Eds.) A Study of Child Variance, Volume 1, Ann Arbor; Institute for the Study of Mental Retardation and Related Disabilities.
- RICHARDS, J. (1989) 'The Schools as Dumping Ground for the Community's Responsibilities to Children', School Organisation, 9 (1), pp. 115-120.
- RICHARDS, M. (1987) 'A Teacher's Action Research Study : The 'Bums' of 8H', Teachers College Record, 87 (3), pp. 65-79.
- RICHARDS, M. & LIGHT, P. (1986) Children of Social Worlds, Oxford; Blackwell.
- RICHARDSON, V., CASANOVA, U., PLACIER, P. & GUILFOYLE, K. (1989) School Children At-Risk, Lewes; Falmer.
- RICOUER, P. & THOMPSON, J. (Eds.) (1981) Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.
- RIST, R. (1970) 'Student social class and teacher expectations : the self fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education', Harvard Educational Review, 40, pp. 411-451.
- RIST, R. (1973) The Urban School : A Factory for Failure, Cambridge; MIT Press.
- ROE, H. (1986) 'Teachers' Attitudes Towards Childrens' Behaviour in a Comprehensive School', Unpub. MA. Dissertation; York University.
- ROGERS, C. (1983) Freedom to Learn, Columbus; Merrill.
- ROSENTHAL, R. & JACOBSEN, L. (1968) Pygmalion in the Classroom, New York; Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- ROTHSTEIN, S. (1987) 'Schooling in Mass Society', Urban Education, 22 (3), pp. 267-285.
- RUBEL, R. (1977) The Unruly school : Disorders, Disruptions and Crimes, Lexington; Heath & Company.
- RUBEL, R. (1980) Violence and Crime in the Schools, Heath; Lexington.
- RUBIN, R. & BALOW, B. (1978) 'Prevalence of Teacher Identified Behavior Problems : a longitudinal study', Exceptional Children, 45, pp. 102-113.
- RUFFIN, S. (1989) 'Improving Urban Communities and their Schools : A National Emergency', NASSP Bulletin, May, pp. 61-70.
- RUTTER, M. TIZARD, J. & WHITMORE, K. (1970) Education, Health and Behaviour, London; Longman.
- RUTTER, M. & MADGE, N. (1976) Cycles of Disadvantage, London; Heinemann.
- RUTTER, M., MAUGHAN, B., MORTIMORE, P., OUSTON, J. & SMITH, A. (1979) Fifteen Thousand Hours, London; Open Books.
- SACKEN, D. (1989) 'School Disciplinary Processes', Urban Education, 23 (4), pp. 323-347.
- SAFRAN, S. & SAFRAN, J. (1985) 'Classroom Context and Teachers' Perceptions of Problem Behaviors', Journal of Educational Psychology, 77 (1), pp. 20-28.
- SAMMONS, P., KYSEL, F. & MORTIMORE, P. (1982) Educational Priority Indices London; Inner london Education Authority.
- SANDOW, S. & GARNER, P. (1991) 'The role of the on-site behavioural support unit', Support for Learning, 6 (4), pp. 150-155.
- SANSOME, J. & BAKER, J. (1990) 'Ninth Grade for Students At-Risk for Dropping Out of High School', The High School Journal, April/May, pp. 216-231.
- SARASON, S. & DORIS, J. (1979) Educational handicap, public policy and social history, New York; Free Press.
- SARUP, M. (1982) Education, State and Crisis, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- SAUNDERS, M. (1979) Class Control and Behaviour Problems, Maidenhead; McGraw-Hill.
- SCARLETT, P. (1989) 'Discipline : Pupil and Teacher Perceptions', Maladjustment & Therapeutic Education, 7 (3), pp. 169-177.
- SCHOSTAK, J. (1983) Maladjusted Schooling, Lewes; Falmer.
- SCMID, R., ALGOZZINE, B., MAHER, M. & WELLS, D. (1984) 'Teaching Emotionally Disturbed Adolescents : A Study of Selected Teacher and Teaching Characteristics', Behavioral Disorders, 9 (2), pp. 105-112.
- SCHWARTZ, M. & SCHWARTZ, C. (1955) 'Problems in participant observation', American Journal of Sociology, 60 (4), pp. 343-353.
- SEDLAK, M., WHEELER, C., PULLAN, D. & CUSICK, P. (1985) 'High School Reform and the Bargain to Learn', Education and Urban Society, 17, pp. 204-214.

- SHANKER, A. (1989) 'What's wrong with Schools ? Ask the kids', American Teacher, 74 (4).
- SHARP, R. & GREEN, T. (1975) Education and Social Control, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- SHEPPARD, B. (1988) Off Site Pupils and their Experience of Schooling, Institute of Education London University; Post-16 Education Centre.
- SHILLING, C. (1992) 'Reconceptualising Structure and Agency in the Sociology of Education : structuration theory and schooling' British Journal of Sociology of Education, 13 (1), pp.69-87.
- SHOTTER, J. (1984) Social Accountability and Selfhood, Oxford; Blackwell.
- SHUTTLEWORTH, R. (1983) 'Wheels within Wheels : A Systems Approach to Maladjustment', Maladjustment and Therapeutic Education, 1 (2). pp. 32-40.
- SIEBER, S. (1973) 'The integration of fieldwork and survey methods', American Journal of Sociology, 78 (6), pp. 1335-1359.
- SIGMON, S. (1987) Radical Analysis of Special Education, Lewes; Falmer.
- SILBERMAN, C. (1971) Crisis in the Classroom : The Remaking of America, New York; Vintage Books.
- SKINNER, B. (1938) The Behaviour of Organisms, New York; Appleton-Century Crofts.
- SKRTIC, T. (1991) 'The Special Education Paradox : Equity as the Way to Excellence', Harvard Educational Review, 61 (2). pp. 148-206.
- SMITH, C., FRANK, A. & SNIDER, B. (1984) 'School Psychologists' and Teachers' Perceptions of Data used in the Identification of Behaviorally Disabled Students', Behavior Disorders, 10 (1), pp. 27-32.
- SMITH, F. (1923) Life and Times of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, London John Murray.
- SPENDER, D. & SARAH, E. (1980) Learning to Lose....., London; The Women's Press.
- SPINDLER, G. (1955) Education and Anthropology, Stanford; Stanford University Press.
- SPINDLER, G. (1982) Doing the ethnography of schooling, New York; Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- SPINDLER, G. & SPINDLER, L. (Eds.) (1987) Interpretive ethnography of education, Hillsdale; Erlbaum.
- STARR, J. (1978) 'Discipline and Corporal Punishment in Schools : A Longitudinal Study of the Attitudes of a Group of Student and Probationer teachers', Research in Education, 19, pp. 67-75.
- STENHOUSE, L. (1979) 'Case Study in Comparative Education : particularity and generalisation', Comparative Education, 15 (1), pp. 5-10.
- STENHOUSE, L. (1985) Research as a Basis for Teaching, London; Heinemann.
- STEVENSON, D. (1991) 'Deviant Students as a Collective Resource in Classroom control', Sociology of Education, 64, pp. 127-133.
- STOBART, G. (1986) 'Is integrating the handicapped psychologically defensible', Bulletin of the British Psychological Society, 39 (1), pp. 1-3.
- STOKER, R. (1987) 'Systems Intervention in Schools - The Ripple Effect', Educational Psychology in Practice, April, pp. 44-50.
- STURM, J. (1988) Comparative Research Methods in Mother Tongue Education, Research Paper to Symposium Deutsch Didaktik; Bielefeld.
- SWIFT, H. (1971) Ideology and Change in the Public Schools, Columbus; Merrill.
- SWINSON, J. (1990) 'Improving Behaviour : A whole class approach, using pupil perceptions and social skills training', Educational Psychology in Practice, 6 (2), pp. 82-88.
- TACOMA PUBLIC SCHOOLS (1987) Guidelines for Differentiating Between Students with Problem Behaviors and Students with Serious Behavioral Disabilities, Tacoma; Tacoma Public Schools.
- TAPPER, T. & SALTER, S. (1978) Education and the Political Order, London; Macmillan.
- TATTUM, D. (1985) 'Disruptive Pupil Behavior : a Sociological Perspective'

- Maladjustment & Therapeutic Education, 3 (2), pp.12-18.
- TAYLOR, M. (1981) Caught Between, Windsor; NFER.
- THOMAS, E. & MARSHALL, M. (1977) 'Clinical evaluation and coordination of services ; An ecological model', Exceptional Children, 44 (1), pp. 16-22.
- THORNDIKE, E. (1898) 'Animal intelligence : An experimental study of the associative processes in animals', Psychological Review Monograph Supplements, 2 (4), pp. 1-109.
- TODMAN, J., JUSTICE, S. & SWANSON, I. (1991) 'Disruptiveness and Referral to the Educational Psychology Service', Educational Psychology in Practice, 6 (4), pp. 199-209.
- TOKER, M. & HOELTKE, G. (1978) Pilot Models for Mainstreaming Secondary Students who are Mild to Moderately Behaviorally Disordered, Lincoln: Nebraska State Education Department.
- TOMLINSON, S. (1982) A Sociology of Special Education, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- TOPPING, K. Educational Systems for Disruptive Adolescents, Beckenham; Croom-Helm.
- TREMBLAY, M. (1957) 'The key informant technique : a non-ethnographic application', American Anthropologist, 59 (4), pp. 688-701.
- TYACK, D. (1974) The One Best System : A History of American Urban Education, Cambridge; Harvard University Press.
- UPTON, G. (1983) Educating Children with Behaviour Problems, Cardiff: Faculty of Education, Cardiff University.
- UPTON, G. & COOPER, P. (1990) 'A New Perspective on Behaviour Problems in Schools : The Ecosystemic Approach', Maladjustment and Therapeutic Education, 8 (1), pp. 3-18.
- VARMA, V. (Ed.) (1990) The Management of Children with Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties, London; Routledge.
- VARMA, V. & EVANS, P. (Eds.) (1990) Special Education : Past, Present and Future, Basingstoke; Falmer.
- VAUGHAN, M. & SHEARER, A. (1986) Mainstreaming in Massachusetts, London; CSIE.
- VERNON, M. (1981) 'Education's "Three Mile Island" : PL 94-142', Peabody Journal of Education, 59 (1), pp. 24-29.
- VIDICH, A. (1955) 'Participant observation and the collection and interpretation of data', American Journal of Sociology, 60 (4), pp. 354-360.
- VIDONI, D., FLEMING, N. & MINTZ, S. (1983) 'Behavior Problems of Children as Perceived by Teachers, Mental health Professionals and Children', Psychology in the Schools, 20, pp. 93-98.
- VOGEL, N. & BELL, E. (Eds.) (1960) A Modern Introduction to the Family, New York; Free Press.
- VULLIAMY, G., LEWIN, K. & STEPHENS, D. (1990) Doing Educational Research in Developing Countries, Lewes; Falmer.
- WALLER, W. (1965) The Sociology of Teaching, New York; Wiley.
- WARNOCK, M. (1991) 'Equality Fifteen Years On', Oxford Review of Education, 17 (2), pp. 145-153.
- WATSON, J. (1919) Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviourist, Philadelphia; J.B. Lippincott.
- WEATHERLY, R. & LIPSKY, M. (1977) 'Implementing Special Education Reform', Harvard Educational Review, 47 (2), pp. 171-197.
- WEBB, S. & WEBB, B. (1932) Methods of Social Study, London; Longman Green.
- WEBER, K. (1982) The Teacher is the Key, Milton Keynes; Open University Press.
- WEBER, M. (1947) The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation, New York; Free Press.
- WEHLAGE, G. & RUTTER, R. (1986) 'Dropping Out : How Much Do Schools Contribute to the Problem', Teachers College Record 87, pp. 374-392.
- WEST, D. (1982) Delinquency : It's Roots, Careers and Prospects, London; Heinemann.

- WEST, W. (1975) 'Adolescent deviance and the school', Interchange, 6, pp. 49-55.
- WHELDALL, K. (Ed.) (1992) Discipline in Schools : Psychological perspectives on the Elton Report, London; Routledge.
- WHITE, R. with BROCKINGTON, D. (1983) Tales out of School, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- WHYTE, W. (1981) Street Corner Society; Chicago; University of Chicago Press.
- WILLIS, P. (1977) Learning to Labour, Farnborough; Saxon House.
- WILSON, P. & PRING, R. (1975) 'In Conclusion', London Educational Review, 4 (2).
- WOOD, F. (Ed.) (1981) Perspectives for a new decade : Education's responsibility for seriously disturbed and behaviorally disordered children and youth, Reston; Council for Exceptional Children.
- WOOD, H., SMITH, R. & GRIMES, J. (1985) The Iowa Assessment Model in Behavior Disorders : A Training Manual, Des Moines; State of Iowa.
- WOODS, P. (1979) The Divided School, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- WOODS, P. (Ed.) (1980) Pupil Strategies : exploring the sociology of the school, London; Croom-Helm.
- WOODS, P. (1985) 'Sociology, ethnography and teacher practice', Teacher and Teacher Education, 1, pp. 51-62.
- WOODS, P. (1987) 'Ethnography at the Crossroads : a reply to Hammersley', British Educational Research Journal, 13 (3), pp. 297-306.
- WOODS, P. (1990) The Happiest days ?, Basingstoke; Falmer.
- WORSLEY, H. (1849) Juvenile Depravity, London; Gilpin.
- YOUNG, M. (Ed.) (1971) Knowledge and Control, London; Collier-Macmillan.

